

SOCIAL STUDIES OF THE WAR

School of Theology at Claremont



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ELMER T. CLARK

AUGUST 5, 1918.

AMERICA IN EUROPE.

LIST OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR continued:

Beware American**Beware of Allies employing Assassination!**

The long list of political assassinations already furnished by four years of world war, was again extended last week by the murderer's bomb which killed Fieldmarshal von Eichhorn and his aide-de-camp von Dressler in Kiev, and in so doing we ask who will be the next victim. Humanity has been almost deadened against the countless cruelties of this war but it slanders every individual to the core to see that there is an infernal method in the employment of frenzied terrorists for political aims. It is significant that an assassination, that of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, started this war. The responsibility for the murderous deed was immediately and justly laid at Serbia's door and the big European Powers, from the start, took part for or against the punishment of Serbia. England and Russia leading in the protest against this punishment. It is most remarkable now that all the assassinations perpetrated in the course of the war, have been committed in the interest, if not on the advice of the very powers who originally refused atonement for the Serbian murder and formed the ground-work of the Entente. On the other side, there is not a single case of assassination that was intended to benefit the enemies of the Entente: the hands of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey are not stained with the assassinated victims.

To refresh our memory let us

the murders as far as we know it.

There was the murder of Jaurès.

killed because he was against

Germany. If the French Government

at all able to substitute another

the crimes, the murderer long

have had his trial and in all like

acquittal. Nothing of the kind, his

habits a narrow, cold in a Parisian

chambers for justice. But Clemence

more important things to do than

that his country is cleansed of the

to protect political assassinations.

The wise, experienced

Russian minister Witto

in general and more

blameless for his

war. He suddenly

the cook who prepared

possibly have been a

General Pollio, the

had ideas about the

alliances, particularly

Italy, Austria and Ger-

at all shared by some

of the Italian war-party

suddenly discovered that

living anymore for him.

In Italy, that Pollio, a man

of life, committed suicide and

friendless in Italy.

That Sir Roger Casement, the

to death by legal proceedings of a

English sort we all know, but

not be forgotten that the English

in Christiania, Sir Finlay will

not clear himself of the out-

he hired a Norwegian to assassi-

Casement, the Irish patriot. Mi-

then the shameless document, we

British Embassy, because ex-

graphic reproductions have been

not distributed wherever English

not suppress them. In the

English influence, unfortunately,

strong enough to seriously restri-

mination of the monument, so

infamy. All the more Uncle Sam

asked if he had forgotten all about

words with which George Wash-

his countrymen against certain

alliances.

There is more than only a

King Karol of Rumania, though

waned in age, did not die a na-

His death removed the last but

conservative party, standing for

fidelity towards the old

Austria and Germany. It open-

wards for the war-frenzied Ruma-

of Russia and France, headed by

king's daughter-in-law, a real

English royal family. Is it

the new queen—by

satisfaction at King N-

suspicion by Rottma-

sibly could give full information how King

Karol came to die?

At last the latest murders in Russia. Let the Bolsheviks call the assassination of Czar Nicholas a legal execution, history will classify it differently. The Czar had to die quickly because England is knocking at the door and will not allow Russia to return into a state of peace and settle her own affairs herself, after having ruined herself in the service of English imperialism. The murder of the Czar certainly was a Russian crime, but the investigator was the perfidious English diplomacy. Count Mirbach's murder has already been proved to be the outcome of a conspiracy between England and the Social-Revolutionists in order to overthrow the present Bolshevik-regime, and we shall hear very soon the same about the Eichhorn- and Dressler-murders. There is only one nigger in the woodpile, and his name is England.

How do you like this kind of an Ally, dear Uncle Sam? Not a very handsome physiognomy to be sure. Are you really willing to develop "a habit of loquacity" for him?—against George Washington's warning—you become his political "slave"? Some say, you are already pretty far advanced on the road to it. Beware, Uncle Sam, beware, your hands are still clean, you have not taken part



Ablow, Joseph, Brooklyn, N.Y., J.R. 307 & D.
Heaton, Iva, Antioch, Pa., J.R. 307.
Haghey, George, Lehigh, Ohio, J.R. 307.
Lavin, James, North Tarrant, N.Y., J.R. 307.
Waters, Nelson, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 308.
Wright, William, St. Davids, Pa., J.R. 308.
Hickman, Fred, Louisville, Ind., J.R. 308.
Lagana, Joseph, Bristol, Conn., J.R. 308.
Whalen, John, Searles, Mass., J.R. 308.
Pope, Edward, Greenboro, N.C., J.R. 308.
McDonald, George, Brockton, Mass., J.R. 308.
Mileward, Eugene, Providence, R.I., J.R. 308.
Grosper, Charles, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 308.
Baker, Stephen, Edin, Va., U.S.A. Mar. 5.
Tabor, Lyle, Turin, N.Y., J.R. 308.
Brady, Thomas, Troy, N.Y., J.R. 308.
Lynch, Jesse, Calif., J.R. 312.
Ralph, Charles, Winston Salem, N.C., Mar. 5.
Starr, Frank, N.Y., J.R. 312.
Graham, Edward, St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 6.
Smith, Edward, Searles, Mass., J.R. 312.
Woodman, Arthur, Detroit, Mich., J.R. 312.
Fried, Adam F., New Orleans, La., Mar. 6.
Millard, Robert, Kankakee, Ill., J.R. 312.
Bell, William, Backus, Louisiana, J.R. 312.
Chesley, William, Paterson, N.Y., Esp. 2.
Ring, Louis, Greenville, S.C., Mar. 6.
Calabrese, Robert, Fairmountville, La., Mar. 6.
Houch, Ernest, Millersburg, Pa., J.R. 312.
Meyer, Leo, Oakbury, Mass., M.G. Hall, 102.
Warren, Anderson, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 102.
Chilly, Fred, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 102.
French, Ernest, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 102.
Sakotnik, Joseph, New York City, J.R. 102.
Sachs, John, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 102.
Sweeney, Dennis, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 102.
Thompson, Warren, New Haven, Conn., J.R. 102.
W. H. Jones, Ansonia, Conn., J.R. 102.

Following officers:

Waller, St. Albans, J.R. 102.
H. H. Boston, Mass., Ansonia.
Kahn, Charles, Toledo, O.
Richard B., Columbus, O.
William H., Jefferson, Mo.
A., Spokane, Wash., Aviator.

Government and Ireland.

meet gone stark, staring end of its actions towards Ireland?" asks Joseph Lang.

The Editor of the London

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applies every one.

ambler and rip them like

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ernment expect Irish Na-

their appeal for relief.

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"German Atrocities" and Common Sense.

Among all the sinners and mad theories that came to the front when this war began, it is *Herbert L. Pratt*, the vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, who takes the cake. He tells the readers of the *New York World* that at the French front two American soldiers have been crucified by the Germans and, in retaliation, the Americans ever since refuse to take any more German prisoners. They simply "shoot them down like rats," Mr. Pratt says, it does not pay in the onward rush to stop and then mercy, the Germans must be killed.

If an international and impartial tribunal of justice could be put together to decide on the merits of Mr. Pratt's absurd accusation that Standard Oil men would feel rather puzzled to produce even a particle of evidence, any imagination fed upon Nick Carter stories and saturated with blind and stupid hatred against Germany could ever dream of producing two or more members of the German Army sufficiently skilled in the antiquated art of crucifying.

But arguing on the numberless so-called German atrocities has long been found to be a hopeless task; for him who knows Germany more than superficially these stories are utterly unbelievable from beginning to end and should not even be mentioned until convincing evidence in every single case is brought out, other people who relish, repeat and even exaggerate these stories, do not want proofs, because they have previously made up their minds to believe "nothing detrimental to Germany." In strict contradiction to one of the fundamental principles of the Anglo-Saxon system of justice, insisting that the accused must be held innocent until conclusive proof of his guilt has been furnished, it is a fact that nobody is inclined to deviate from this principle more readily than the Anglo-Saxons themselves as soon as the racial point comes into play. "Right or wrong, my country" is an Anglo-Saxon challenge and it means nothing else but, wrong be hell, as long as my country is on the wrong side.

The pernicious effect of this campaign of professional lies cannot be broken by an appeal to the common sense of people that have done away with this commodity when they delivered themselves every inch to the gospel of hatred. Stronger measures will be necessary to spoil the dirty work of men like Balfour, Carson, Honor Lay, Herbert L. Pratt, Cecil and all the others who stop at nothing to sow unnatural hatred between America and Germany for the salvation of England.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Terror from the Skies.

The following is an extract from a private letter dated London and found on one of the battlefields recently:

"We are in constant terror of a new aerial-attack alarm.

"We shall not have any nerves left if this sort of thing continues much longer.

"Oh Lord — what kind of life are we leading now, ever in fear of death!

"At the same time we are fighting battles for a piece of sugar."

News reports that in the United States the Atlantic coast is infested with the dead bodies of hundreds of whales, sharks and other big fishes, victims and proofs of the eagerness with which the American U-boat hunters go to work. Very laudable indeed, but they should not handle the expensive ammunition quite so loosely.

German Hospital now Franklin Hospital.

It cannot be said that the anti-Germans in America have shown a very happy hand. Since the opening of the new hospital the hospital has become the "Spital German" with honor. Does it encourage the sympathy of the mighty United States to be personified by the sons of the land who work the Germans have performed in the land of their choice? Is it possible that the American Government has aspirations as to the moral worth of the sons of France who soldiers if a hospital, founded, conducted and supported by German-Americans will further be known by its old and appropriate name? It is not possible to have a better named another name. Nobody who studied the life of Benjamin Franklin can admit that this unbiassed, upright, far-seeing champion of liberty would feel in the least flattered by such a posthumous honor.

Ten years for following Christ's commands!

The U. S. Government according to recent news from New-York continues to indict the German people for the crimes of the war. Not less than eighty newspapers and periodicals, among them forty five socialist publications have already been suppressed and the German people are being persecuted. The secretary of the socialist party of the State of Washington was sentenced to ten years penal servitude for exhibiting in his office an intemperate railing.

"Don't be a soldier — but a man!"

Trench Piano Fever

gains hold on the Soldiers at Gordon, the Atlantic "Constitution" says.

When the United States entered this war the American public immediately began the severest campaign of invasion of countless articles that were designed for the comfort and entertainment of soldiers in the trenches, and some of the most unvarnished and unbridled of our tongues have resorted, a few of which have recently been of some use to the men in khaki. But the latest of these inventions, so far as Camp Gordon and her men know, is the trench piano, a portable musical instrument that can be folded automatically to fit snugly on the jack commonly worn on soldiers' backs, and one that is warranted to give unequalled satisfaction to a soldier's palate and his desire for amusement even in the thick of the fight.

Piano lessons in three weekly installments have been fitted to this unvarnished instrument, and now the ordinary soldier is led to believe that if his company will invest an insignificant sum in one of the instruments, he can escape from sniping, bullets a few minutes and refresh themselves with the strains of "Long Boy," played inconspicuously and without difficulty by any man of the unit.

Trench Piano Grand.

Pictures of "honeymoon" in the trenches — a "baby grand" trench piano sitting upon the end bank of a trench with a squad gathered round it singing soulfully, while another squad calmly picks off the enemy sharpshooters and with scolding "inimities" and bullets flying overhead — all are vividly portrayed to the mind of an imaginative portrayer.

Recently an advertisement of the trench piano was sent to Camp Gordon, and, like all of its kind, it was first looked over by headquarters. Receiving the O. K. of authorities, it immediately began the circuit of organizations of the camp.

After looking over the ad and thinking of its possibilities, one of the commanding officers is said to have recommended the immediate organization of a "307th Trench Piano Battalion" for service in the field against the Hun.

Peer Gaining Ground.

In the event that the project proves successful it is possible that a "Sixty-third Vandevoile Brigade" will be formed to do duty with the piano battalion. The operations of these units may believe, would be retaliation for the Hun.

At any rate, the trench piano fever is fast getting a hold on the camp, and if nothing

intervenes in the way of war department orders, the fad will soon be as strongly prevalent as the old "trench kit" fad, the same being composed of a figure, the stick of rouge and a powder puff in addition to sundry other articles that were said "to be of great value and convenience to men in the trenches."

English Atrocities.

English Kill their Allies Wounded. — Dismal Raid on Largest French Field Hospital by British Flying Squadrons — Hospitals all Destroyed — Hundred Victims.

The English spirit of destructiveness has again been let loose in a most despicable manner at the cost of helpless wounded Frenchmen and Americans. On the evening of July 22nd ten bomb-bombing English flying squadrons, escorted by forty fighting flyers, descended from the Aisne-Marne front to destroy the French towns and villages between Reims and Fismes that so far had escaped serious damage. They succeeded in breaking through the German barrage and towards 6 o'clock arrived above the immense French field hospital of Mont Notre Dame, German property, conspicuously marked with the Red Cross of Geneva. It will be remembered that these hospitals with their French-English medical staffs and great quantities of material, worth millions of francs, are in German hands during the Aisne offensive. They represent the largest medical establishments the French have at the Aisne front.

Within five minutes the English flyers threw off ten enormous bombs that struck in the midst of French, American, German and English wounded, crowding the extensive barracks. One of the bombs hit the section for dysentery, two others wrecked the operation hall. Thirty men were killed, severely wounded. Among the dead is a well known German professor of surgery at the university of Freiburg who with two assisting sisters was killed in the midst of an operation. A French physician also employed at an operating table lost both legs.

The senior French physician in the name of the thirty French doctors and twenty four French sisters, all employed at the hospital, expressed to the German chief doctor his deepest regret and indignation at this flagrant and brutal violation of the Geneva Convention by the English. From the day the English flyers came to the front, he has joined this demonstration. The French, American and English wounded expressed themselves most bitterly on this latest exploit of barbarism by which English flyers are wont to distinguish themselves from those of all other belligerents. Only the swift ascend of German flyers, though much less numerous than the enemy, saved the hospital from still worse calamities, the English flyers retired.

Balfour and the Czechoslovaks.

"Freemans Journal" has this to say on Lord Balfour's sympathizing with the Czechoslovaks:

"We can understand that President Poincaré in the name of the French Republic sends the Czechoslovak soldiers a flag, but what has Lord Balfour to do with that? The English minister of the Exterior may be well prepared for a crusade in Bohemia, but we can assure him that he can make better use of the surplus of ering knights at home. Mr. Balfour should rather direct his zeal against Sir Carson and instead of bestowing Bohemian castles he ought to get busy about the 'Castle of Dublin'. But we are sure, Balfour won't do anything of the kind. The Czechoslovaks are far enough away to be taken for romantic heroes, while the Irish Nationalists are too near by to be taken for anything else but insubordinate people, whom one has to teach good behavior with a bit of lead, as fast expedient, with the help of a bullet."

AMUSEMENTS.

KURHAUSBADHOMBURG

Freitag, Konzerte 4 u. 8 1/2 Uhr. Vortrag. Restaur. im Theater 7 1/2 Uhr. "Schwarzwalddieter".

Against some "higher-ups".

N. H. Cochrane is the name of a man who believes in free criticism and protests against its suppression favored by "higher-ups". He writes to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*: "I note some people are fond of quipping, from highcrotch, that criticism at this time is destructive, is unpatriotic, and pro-German, to which I want to take issue. There is, not now, nor never has been, a condition or a combination of conditions, either real or fancied, that justifies the persistent and assiduous efforts of the administration to muzzle the press and stifle the free expression of thought, and any effort to do so by any man or any set of men is not only an encroachment but a direct assault upon our liberty. It is incompatible with the very nature of our institutions, is unconstitutional, and cannot be tolerated by a free and intelligent people."

AMUSEMENTS.

GROSS-FRANKFURT

WEIN-KLAUSE
Kunstler-Spiele.

Aufheben der ersten Kabarettserie.
Anfang 7 1/2 Uhr. — Eintritt 2 Mark.
Eingang nur Strikasse 32.
Eleganter Familienaufenthalt.

INTIMES THEATER

An der Hauptwache — Anfang 8 Uhr.

Gesang und Kunststücke.

Großer Erfolg!

Schumann-Theater

Gastspiel des Metropoltheaters Köln.

Heute 7 1/2 Uhr. — Wenn im Frühling.

mit Peter Franz und Emily Strang-Saun als Gäste.

KÜNSTLER-PALAST ARKADIA

Ab 6. August Gastspiel des weltberühmten Chansoniers

JEAN MOREAU

und das übrige erstklassige

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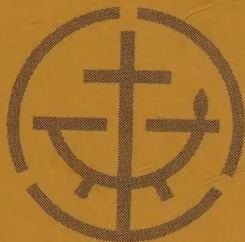
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LLOYD GEORGE, ADDRESSING THE SAMMIES:

"My boy, are you able to appreciate the high honor that you are permitted to die for England?"

NEWSFROMAMERICA.

Symptoms of Imminent Awakening.

Even the Chicago "Daily Tribune" takes exception to English censoring of American Press Despatches.

Since the United States are taking an active part in the war and allow their young men to spill their blood on European soil for first and last European causes, our countrymen over in America begin to realize more and more that it won't do to look at the war-situation exclusively with English eyes. As long as America's interest in the war was more or less of a theoretical or monetary character it was not deemed necessary to probe the veracity of every piece of news received via England, but since our own blood is flowing even those among us who still adhere to the traditional friendship between England and America—the blood-is-

WATH ARE YOU FIGHTING FOR, SAMMY?

For the Pound and the Dollar, if you want to know. Of course, you arn't told so. What they tell you in and out of season is that you are fighting for the choicest things in all the world, for the highest ideas and the loftiest ideals. You are to fight the fighting spirit of Germany, you have to make war against war, and you have been militarized in order to crush militarism. You are called to make the world safe for democracy, for culture, for brotherly love, and for — Is-totallism.

But — They never tell you that all these things are nothing but camouflage, nothing but a hiding screen for the real thing you are fighting for. And this real thing is the Sacred Pound and the Almighty Dollar!

This is what you are fighting for!
This is what all the Allies are fighting for!
This is what the whole war is fought for!

This is what for floods of blood, and torrents of tears must flow and eyes must dim, and hearts must break.

This war is not the Battle of the Lord. It is the Armageddon of the Golden Calf.

And yet, strange to say, it is not fought by the owners of the aforesaid calf. It is not fought by the happy possessors of the gold producing shares and bonds nor by the gamblers in Wall Street and Threadneedle Street.

Oh no!

WAR NEWS.

The fifth Anniversary of the War.

A sad anniversary! — Ever since the unnatural alliance between the old foes, England and Russia, was concluded, the world knew that an European war was inevitable. England's historical policy, always to crush her most dangerous commercial rivals (Spain, Holland, Denmark, France), demanded the crushing of Germany. Russia wanted the control of the Balkan-States and the Dardanelles, and France was craving for "Revanche" and incidentally for Alsace-Lorraine and, if possible, for the left side of the Rhine. The Soehomhow trial and the official documents found in Brussels have proved the fact that the Entente intended to annihilate Germany.

Germany's doom seemed to be sure. But the devilish plot of the Entente did not succeed and never will succeed!

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A. E. Kirk

SOCIAL STUDIES
" OF THE
WAR

by
Elmer T. Clark
"

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1919

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SOCIAL STUDIES OF THE WAR

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CHAPTER I

IMMORALITY IN EUROPE DURING THE WAR

We are accustomed to hearing that war acts as a regenerator of the national life, bringing patriotism, sacrifice, unselfishness, and devotion to principle forward to such a degree as to produce a more virile and devoted citizenship. It may be that such a contention has a certain foundation in fact upon the one side, yet the most casual observer of events in the great European war must be impressed with the fact that this struggle is breeding enough immorality and vice to overwhelmingly counter-balance any such spiritual gains that may perchance accrue. The war has bred viciousness in an amazing fashion, and there is a demand, therefore, for some very plain speaking and a frank recognition of a critical condition in order to insure our social salvation.

To one interested in the problems of society the most apparent fact in connection with the war is this great

increase in immorality. In every European city vice is rampant. It stalks the streets openly, day and night, and with brazen effrontery flaunts itself in the face of the law, order, and all moral conceptions. So deplorable has the situation become that there is small danger of exaggerating its seriousness. While there has been a decrease in what we usually regard as the more flagrant forms of crime, burglary, highway robbery, murder, and the like, owing to the fact that the men, who usually commit such crimes, have been placed in the armies, misbehavior of the more unmentionable type has received the greatest impetus it has ever known. And to-day the streets of London, Paris, Rome, and other cities are veritable cesspools of iniquity. So much so, indeed, that the sojourner in these places feels as if they have abandoned all moral restraints and thrown to the winds all desires and attempts to preserve the purity and the health of their people.

In all of these cities the streets are thronged with women of the underworld. There are thousands upon thousands of them, moving here and there in the darkened avenues and plying their trade with the utmost abandon and boldness. So prolific are they that it is nothing unusual to see four or five girls accost a man simultaneously and fall to disputing among themselves as to which has the prior claim upon his attentions; and so bold are they that they frequent constantly the lounges and the tea rooms of the best hotels with perfect freedom and confidence. The courtesans have an especial predilection for the soldiers, and these men,

many of whom come from distant colonies overseas and are without friends in the great centers of European population, fall easy prey to their machinations. So alarming are the proportions which the vice problem has assumed on account of the war that the casual observer is almost constrained to believe that the whole moral fabric of the nations has been destroyed.

The causes for such a state of affairs are very apparent. In the first place the problem is aggravated by the thousands of refugees who have been driven into foreign cities. These refugees have furnished a large per cent of the immoral women, hundreds of them drifting to the street under the pressure of economic and social needs. Then there are the wives and the widows of the soldiers, who, in the absence of the husbands, have become degenerate. It is a remarkable fact that nearly all of these women claim to belong to this class; I have spoken to a large number of them, and almost without exception they have claimed that their husbands are in the army or have fallen on the fields. One may not judge whether the statements are true or whether the women believe there is an especial virtue in having a man with the colors, but it is well known that the absence of the men is one of the largest factors in the increase of crime. Here is a young woman whose husband has cared for her in all things, furnishing her the support, the companionship, and the amusement which her nature has desired. The young man is taken into the army, and at once the companionship, the amusement, and most of the support is with-

drawn. The young woman becomes the victim of an intense loneliness. She can no longer live in the manner to which she has become accustomed, and unless she is a strong character, or is willing to seek employment, both for its income and for the occupation itself, she will have difficulty in adjusting herself to the new condition. She seeks companionship and diversion, finding both in the public house or saloon, which is a social institution and which prevalent ideas permit her to frequent without a compromise. Naturally, the friends she makes at the public house do not strengthen her moral determinations, and the liquor she drinks causes her to lose her sense of restraint. And from this environment she drifts to the streets through a gradual evolution, and in accordance with the fundamental cravings of her nature. This is the history of thousands of women whose husbands serve with the armies in the field.

Of the seriousness of this situation there can be no doubt. Hundreds of soldiers have returned on leave to their homes to find their wives gone, depraved, diseased, or the mothers of illegitimate children. The law courts, temperance societies, and all social agencies have been forced to take cognizance of the deplorable situation. Case after case has been brought to public notice until the list runs into the thousands. A corporal, who was declared by his officer to be the best type of soldier, came home from the Somme to spend Christmas with his family, and when he found the public house had caused the ruin of his wife he committed murder; and in pro-

nouncing sentence the judge declared from the bench that "such a man, with such a character, ought not to be with criminals." "You should make trenches between our homes and the public house," exclaimed a young soldier to a Member of Parliament who had urged his enlistment under promise that his family would be cared for. Another man, returning from the trenches, found that his wife had committed suicide, preferring death to facing her husband after her shame, leaving three children, including one just born, to break to their father the news of their mother's infidelity. Such happenings are so common that they are now scarcely exceptional; the tragic tales are told daily in the press and before the courts. So common, indeed, have they become that the British courts, for the first time in history, have recognized what in America is called "the unwritten law."

It must not, however, be supposed that the wrong is confined exclusively to the women left at home, for the men have done their share in bringing about the condition. I was told on good authority, by one who professed to know and who had every opportunity of knowing, that there had been more than ten thousand proven cases of bigamy among the overseas troops of the British Empire, and that the government was endeavoring to solve the difficult problem thus presented. I was one day approached by an officer in great distress of mind, because, having been summoned to testify regarding the suicide of a brother officer, he faced the necessity of perjuring himself or bearing a witness which would dis-

grace the memory and family of his friend. The truth was that the man had married a second wife in France and, about to be discharged from the army, committed suicide to avoid the revelations which would inevitably follow his return to civil life. I have personal knowledge, also, of a case in which an officer attempted to marry a French girl; the girl, however, took the precaution of writing the mayor of the man's home town, and she received the intelligence that her suitor had a wife and children back at home.

On another occasion I talked with a young woman who had been placed in a difficult situation. Her husband was an officer, the son of a wealthy English family, and when he returned from the front on leave he spent all of his time with another woman and openly refused to have further relations with his young wife. The result was that his family promised her a liberal allowance if she would go to London with one of the children and give the other to the mother-in-law. Within a few months she was notified that the allowance would be reduced to a point which made it almost impossible for her to live, and her protest brought information from a solicitor that the family were under no obligations to her, that her husband had nothing in his own right, and that she must either accept the reduction or get nothing. It was evident that this action was preliminary to cutting her off entirely, and one could but be apprehensive of the result when such action should finally be taken.

I know another case personally, sadder than either of

these mentioned. The husband was in a venereal hospital, from which he went to his home regularly on visits. Because his wife refused to receive him intimately on account of his condition he placed the small child in a boarding school and withdrew all support from his wife, leaving her in London with nothing save the government allowance of one pound per week. In this case the man had long been carrying on improper relations with his wife's younger sister.

The condition of which these cases are symptomatic seems to ramify through all classes of society. I have seen American officers and welfare workers with a large number of visiting cards bearing the names of women respectable in society, judging from their addresses, which had been given to them on trains, in the streets, and in motor busses, always with the suggestion of further acquaintanceship. I talked with the wife of a major in the British army, expressing my surprise at such a condition, and she said, in effect, "We are under such a strain that we have simply agreed to set aside our old conceptions. My own friends are doing things openly which would have caused their disgrace before the war. While the war continues we are seeing nothing and thinking nothing."

In England the condition was brought prominently to the fore during the trial of Mr. Pemberton Billing, Member of Parliament, for libel, a trial which was a national scandal. Mr. Billing alleged that people of high estate were guilty of the most unspeakable excesses, even mentioning in court the name of a former

Prime Minister. It was declared that the Germans possessed a Black Book containing the names of 47,000 prominent English people thus guilty, and that this information was used by the enemy not only to further the demoralization of the social life of England but also to prevent activity on the part of the people thus known. Over and over again Mr. Billing was denounced by the judge who was trying the case, and he in turn gave and offered testimony showing that the judge's own name was in the Black Book. At the conclusion of the disgraceful trial the jury quickly acquitted the defendant, thus proving that they believed the story of the Book, to the great joy of the hangers-on.

As an aftermath of this trial the journal *John Bull*, a very popular and influential weekly which possesses, however, little to commend it to the conservative or constructive forces of the Empire, made these remarks: "For years past there have been persistent and never to be stifled whispers and rumors of the prevalence of these sexual vices—on the part of both sexes—amongst all the higher ranks of society. Artists, authors, politicians, musicians, actors, actresses, the clergy—all have contributed their quota to the volume of evil report. Go into any West End club, into any theatrical group, into any artistic coterie, or any political social gathering—where men and women are free to speak—and you hear the same names repeated. Go to any week-end party at a country house, and you find the same scientific selection and grouping of guests. Before the war the Thing was bad enough—to-day it is infinitely worse. So far

as women are concerned, the absence of their men at the front has undoubtedly aggravated the evil. On the other hand the nervous strain of the war and the idiotic talk about modern culture and all the rest of it, have had their effect upon the neurotic and erotic temperaments of men blasé with the ordinary attractions of life—with the result that to-day sexual perversity is more rife than ever it has been before. It is no part of my intention recklessly to pillory the principal devotees of these devilish arts—but I solemnly warn them that unless they take the hint given by recent events and disown and discard their abnormal practices, no consideration of either fear or convention will restrain me from publishing a Black Book of my own. I do not say it will contain forty-seven thousand names, but there are certainly forty-seven—known to every man and woman about town—the publication of which would shake the foundations of society. They include those of peers and their sons and daughters, of politicians and their wives, of actors and actresses, of authors and artists, of clerics and ministers—‘established’ and non-conformist—all famous in their respective spheres, and all at present protected by that weird free-masonry which is the gospel and moral of sexual perversity.”

That a vast deal of the immorality prevalent in England and France comes from Germany is the belief of thousands of those who are well versed in the methods of the enemy. “Le Vice Allemand,” it is called. That such evil was prevalent in Germany to a horrid extent even before the war is well known, and since the out-

break of hostilities the world has heard the most atrocious rumors of what was happening in the social life of the enemy country—of how women were used like beasts for the propagation of the race, of how it became the acme of patriotic achievement for even girls “to present a future soldier to the emperor,” of how men were instructed in regard to their social duty when sent away from the front on leave or discharged on account of wounds. The record of the Boche in Belgium and northern France and Poland bears witness to the fact that his militarism had bred viciousness in its worst form and corrupted an entire people. And there seems little cause to doubt that the wave of immorality in allied countries is at least aided and abetted by enemy spies. Thousands of the refugees are declared to be no refugees in the proper sense of the word, but common prostitutes sent by the enemy from Alsace, Lorraine, everywhere, to spread destruction in the social order and worm secrets from the people of allied lands.

The fact that such a belief had been gaining adherents explains something of the anger of the people at the revelations made in the case of Pemberton Billing. Some of those whose names were mentioned had conducted affairs of state in a manner very displeasing to the people who were anxious “to get on with the war”; they had refused to undertake a policy of reprisals in the matter of air raids, to intern all enemy aliens, to make cotton contraband, to stop the flow of German reservists from America to Germany, to adopt a more positive military policy than that of “wait and see.”

There was, therefore, a storm of indignation when it was openly declared that some of those thus lax figured in the notorious Black Book. Could it be that the enemy was blackmailing influential men into inactivity by virtue of a loathsome knowledge possessed about them? "How can it be wondered," asks *John Bull*, "that ordinary citizens—what the superior folk call the 'common people'—believe that German influence has been at work? One mistake—two mistakes—of policy; one blunder—ten blunders—favoring Germany, might be put down to ignorance. No government is fool-proof, but deliberate acts, defended often with venom, justified with heat, the critics either derided or denounced—which have all helped the enemy and crippled us in the war—need some other explanation than stupidity—and God knows we have seen enough of that since August, 1914! The crowds that seethed about the Old Bailey the other day believed that one secret of much of this cruel incompetence and wicked weakness and inaction which until recently clogged the wheels of war is to be found in that Black Book, and the jury—despite every rule of law—accepted fully the story told them.

"If the Hun was content to wallow in his own filth, to sink in the bog of his own bestiality, we might deplore the decadence of a race never noted for moral strength and cleanliness. But there is a greater danger, and it is one against which this country must fight with all its might—the danger of contamination from creatures like Bertha Trost—the woman of unspeakable practices, who was kicked out of this country after war

had run some months its course, and who used her house not only to corrupt some of the best manhood of England, but to play the spy for Germany. There is enough evidence to convict our foul enemy of deliberately using men and women for the fell purpose of demoralizing those who might from their position fall an easy prey to the careful inquisitiveness of those agents of the Hun. Not only in the west end of London have these degenerate harpies designed their lairs, but in the big seaports of the country depraved women have been used by the Kaiser and his tools to worm the secrets out of men and make them play traitor to their King and country. If ever there was a nation of despicable creatures who subscribe to the gospel that 'the end justifies the means,' Germany is that nation. Without common decency, ignorant of the meaning of honor, corrupt and corrupting, these skunks of Europe have played their loathsome game to the end that the purity of civilized communities might be defiled and honest men turned into miserable moral lepers. If the true story of the plots and schemes leading up to, and continuing during, the war is ever told, it will be found that decent men—yes, and women, too—have been artfully enmeshed in the toils of lasciviousness, shackled in chains of unnatural vice, and held in bondage by the terror of their own evil doings."

The realization that the enemy could thus intrigue to destroy even personal purity among the civilian population was responsible for a new outburst of hatred. "They have turned unnatural vice into a religion; they

have their ritual for wrong doing and their orders of service for the most debased and bestial of practices. Among all decent men—in any society where chastity is given honorable recognition, where the purity of young manhood and the virtue of women is counted a priceless possession—the things which are spoken of in Germany with devilish arrogance and inhuman pride are only recognized in asylums for the insane, in retreats for the mentally debased. Would it be believed that in the land of the Hun they would alter the very laws which bring to punishment those who debase physical purity, and one of their most famous, or infamous, authors pleads for toleration of the most unspeakable crimes against naturehood, and contemplates the time when his false and perverted view shall have ‘permeated the wide circles of the population’ and when ‘the old consciousness of right will be replaced by the new one, which will demand the repeal of a criminal law by which a natural phenomenon is regarded as a vice and is treated as infamous’? How can any decent man boast of finding a ‘spiritual home’ in this land of male perverts and female decadents? The time will come when the morally weak, and those whose patriotism is thin and anemic, will ask the manhood of Great Britain to make friends with the nation of moral lepers. In God’s name, let us keep our heads—aye, and endeavor by every means in our power to keep free from the contaminating touch of the Hun.”

Thus far has social looseness gone in England; thus far has it been recognized by a saddened people. Not

only is London thus affected, but the blight has spread to most of the cities and towns of the United Kingdom—Liverpool is the worst of all. And the same conditions obtain in the other nations; in the degree of badness I would arrange them thus: England, France, Italy, Scotland, Ireland. The nations have realized the necessity of some corrective measures but have been powerless to devise them. A proposition was made to place the wives of soldiers under control, but it was dropped because of the reflection which such an act would inevitably cast upon the families of the men giving their lives for the country.

There is another phase to the subject in connection with the causes for the carnival of crime; it is found in the lack of restraint on the part of the womanhood of the lands towards the soldiers. At its heart this is founded upon a noble sentiment and has been encouraged in many ways. Europe loves her soldiers. She will make any sacrifice for their comfort. The women have vied with one another in their efforts to entertain them and contribute to their well being. The best homes are opened to them and they are wined and dined continuously. Each woman and girl seems to consider herself a committee of one to do something for a soldier. Thus the restraint which in ordinary times hedges the freedom of association between the women and the men has been thrown aside. And beyond question this has contributed something to the ruin of the girls and the seriousness of the social evil.

Now if this is the actual state of affairs in the bel-

ligerent countries, we might expect that superhuman efforts would be put forth to stem the tide of immorality and save the people. Yet the exact reverse is true. So far as the ordinary person is able to discover, there is absolutely no action being taken to control the evil. The laws, of course, stand on the statute books and we occasionally read of a conviction, but all this means nothing but a small fine, perhaps a brief imprisonment, notoriety through the public press, and then the victim is sent out worse than ever, hardened, resentful, and with the door of reformation effectually closed against her. The difficulties in such a situation are well known and are the same in all countries: the difficulty of securing evidence, the lack of any adequate corrective agencies, the general attitude which prevents reformation, and the inability to grapple with the evil at its base by reaching the ultimate cause of it.

To speak of the problem which such a reign of immorality is preparing for the future is to raise at once the entire range of social questions. There is no form of crime which ramifies so thoroughly through the structure of a people's life as the social evil, and the present carnival of misbehavior, which I am constrained to believe rivals any similar situation which has ever faced the world in its history, is piling up for us trouble of a most serious kind. In the first place, we shall have to consider anew the question of illegitimacy, and this will involve a complete change of attitude toward unfortunate children if it is to be answered in a way that will preserve the best interests of the social order. It will

require more than a mere official edict or legal enactment ordering the legitimatizing of all children born out of wedlock; this, indeed, is a foolish proceeding, since it secures to the children nothing which they would not obtain without it except in unusual cases. The remedy must go deeper; it must secure to such children all the benefits of opportunity and respect, and this cannot be done until the attitude of society, which denies them these things, is changed. And this is the most difficult of all tasks, as well as the most dangerous. Deep seated prejudices, moral conceptions with centuries of time behind them, ideas of respectability which are the outgrowth of the social experience of all ages, the instinctive sentiments of the heart to which violations of conjugal confidence are repulsive—no law or edict can change these things. And what if they are changed? In that case we face the danger of plunging the world into a very hell of crime by overthrowing all of its moral ideas. Surely the best interests of civilization will not be served by the cultivation of a spirit which excuses illegitimacy and looks with toleration upon the violation of the seventh commandment! For such a relaxation could not be a temporary expedient; our ideas are too fundamental to be changed and adjusted at will. In either case the social problem remains serious.

Another aspect of this social problem will concern the preponderance in the number of the women over the men. This is a favorite subject of speculation, and the superficial suggestions for its adjustment range all the way from "equal rights for women," through polygamy,

to the complete abolition of the institution of marriage. But it is not nearly so serious as it has been pictured. Its economic aspects are, indeed, practically negligible. In this war the women have shown once for all that they are abundantly able and willing to take care of themselves, so that their dependence upon the opposite sex for support is a thing of the past. In the matter of morality and the welfare of the home as an institution, however, the influence of the disparity of one sex will be felt. It will not be a good thing, either for the women or for the world, to throw the women into industry by the side of men, giving them the same wages and offering them all inducements to become cogs in the machine of industry. That thousands of them are forced to turn their activities into this channel is quite true, and in such cases simple justice demands that they be not discriminated against. But the well-worn argument that "woman's place is in the home," however much it may be ridiculed by the radicals, is after all founded upon the most fundamental conception of our social life. Whatever adjustments we may be forced to make out of necessity, the fact will remain that the ideal life for the woman is in the home; from this standpoint we will digress at our peril. Now the preponderance of women over the men will necessarily force us to make a wide digression from this ideal. Many thousands seem to be barred from the home life to which they are attracted by instinct and by training. But an industrial occupation cannot change human nature nor eradicate the deepest instincts of the life, while

the association and competition with men on a common basis will neither give the men a deeper respect for the women nor strengthen their moral conscience. Hence it seems certain that immorality will result from the new situation.

The world is also threatened with having its confidence in and respect for the women undermined. It is already apparent that the men of Europe have really less respect for their women than they had before the beginning of hostilities. They are very proud of the wonderful things the women have done, and of this they may well be proud, but these achievements have not deepened their respect—perhaps it would be better to say that they have given them a different kind of respect. But whether the difference be in kind or degree, it seems plain that the women do not occupy such an exalted place in the moral estimate of the men as they once held. This has been caused, or accompanied, by a decline in the tone of the women. Their familiar association with the men, the profligate use of cigarettes, which the war has so heightened that it seems well-nigh universal, the masculinity which comes from doing the work of men, the increasing carelessness in the matter of personal appearance—these are the things about which the men are complaining. Then in connection with this there is the awful deluge of vice which has degraded so many thousands and resulted in so much disease. This situation has undoubtedly caused people to lose confidence in each other. There is a confusion of mind which partakes of doubt and suspicion. Men

do not know whether to trust the women, and women do not know whether to trust the men. And so this subtle attitude, which really fastens suspicion upon everybody, is another element in the social problem of the future. It will prevent reformation, cause more immorality, hinder marriage, and threaten the free and righteous relations of the people.

It will be seen at once that all of these phases of the situation drive straight at the home. And this is the most serious element in it. To destroy or even to seriously injure the home is more dangerous than to have the immorality, the disease, and the illegitimacy amongst us; and when we have the immorality, the disease, and the illegitimacy present with us and combined in an attack upon the home, then the situation is perilous in the extreme. And that is exactly the case at the present time. The most discerning minds among us have known for many years that we were drifting into a state of being which was gradually assailing the home. The drift of population to the cities, the laxity of our laws concerning divorce, the forcing of our women into industry, their oppression by the capitalists, the modern feminist movement with its "votes for women" slogan—each of these things has struck a blow at the home. Then came that immoral phase of socialism which openly advocated the theory of the home's dissolution and urged the repeal of our notions concerning marriage. These things caused many people to be exceedingly anxious. If matters continued for a few more years in the same channel, and at the same rate of progress, soon there

would be no home; and since no substitute had been provided and nothing had been done to meet a situation that was threatening to dethrone all our morality and place the world in a condition which moral sentiment had always regarded as the extreme of corruption, there was ample cause for alarm. And now on top of all that there comes this war and brings with it a social problem at least as serious as any the world has ever faced before, a problem having all the various phases we have mentioned, with each phase leveling its attack at what was left of the home. If there lives a man whose highest hope for the future welfare of the world lies in the moral stability of the home, he must now be weeping his heart out over the danger which threatens this ancient and holy institution. And it will behoove him to bestir himself for a solution which will avert such danger.

One naturally turns to the Church for something of promise in such a crisis, and in this he follows a right instinct; for the Church is the only purely moral institution on earth, and it stands for nothing save the preservation of moral values; the home has always been its hobby, and rightly so. Therefore if the Church is not prepared to offer help in such a situation as that which prevails in Europe at the present time, we would be at a loss to know where to turn. But when one asks the European Church of the present day for light in this moral crisis, he meets the disappointment of his life. For the Church has no light; she is not seeking any light; she seems blissfully ignorant of the fact that any

light is needed. If she has any, it is snugly hid under the bushel of a smug self-satisfaction and the hollowest sort of a simulated patriotism which is in itself a sham. Surely these are the saddest days that the modern Church ever fell upon. She preaches enlistment and sets her holy sanction on the cruelest war of history. She stirs up the passions of the people to fight and hates her own members who urge conscientious objections to bearing arms. Her pulpits ring with bitter denunciations of sin, but it is always German sin. She pictures the coming of a golden era, but according to the will of God, that era must be achieved by blood and battle. On these things the Church is a unit, and if there is a dissenter his voice is too puny to be heard. For once at least, the European Church has found something upon which it can unite.

And all the while vice of the most repulsive sort flaunts itself before the very doors of the Church, corrupting the morals of the people, perverting all the righteous conceptions which hold together the social fabric, and nullifying both the message and activity of the Church. It is so flagrant that its presence cannot be unnoticed, even by the most innocent. The Sunday School children and the clergymen are brought into contact with it if they walk the streets or possess any knowledge of current events. And yet the Church says little and does less. The clergy seem to think that it would be treason to the state to suggest that England is corrupt; to let it be known that England is rotten to the core and does not care, would be giving aid and com-

fort to the enemy. And so patriotism of the sort which consists wholly in hating the national enemy, rather than in seeking the purification of the motherland, holds sway. The Church still "practices respectability and calls it holiness," and she keeps herself respectable by turning her face away from horrid immoralities. It is like the ostrich escaping danger by hiding his head in the sand.

At the beginning of the war, so it is said, Mr. H. G. Wells spent his time in the yard of a village Church, overwhelmed by the calamity which had overtaken the world, and lost in thought. He reflected that one of these Churches stood in each hamlet and settlement of the civilized world, and that no living person in these lands was beyond its influence. He knew that the Church stood upon the platform of Christ, urging love and goodness as against hate and violence, and that upon this platform it had come to be the most respected, the richest, and the most influential of all human forces. Then the question came upon him with crushing violence: Why has there not gone out from this institution an influence which would make this war impossible? And because he could not answer this question Mr. Wells, converted by the war into a man keenly alive to the spiritual realities of the universe, became confused in his thinking, and has conjured up a kind of religion which even he does not understand and which offers nothing to the world.

And when we contemplate the situation of the world in regard to the problem of vice, we are forced into the

same position in which Mr. Wells found himself. Why is it that the Church, with all its influence, power, morality, and respectability, has done nothing whatever in checking this evil? It is a strange thing to contemplate, that after the Church has been operating twenty centuries this form of wickedness is just as wide-spread and flagrant as it has ever been. It has been more repulsive, perhaps, but I doubt if there ever has been a moment in history when it was more common than at the present moment. Can it be that our ideas are wrong? Are we disapproving of a thing which is such a fundamental element of human nature that it cannot be eradicated, and must we admit our mistake and reform our morality so as to leave room for indiscriminate licentiousness? There are those who so think, and it seems that we must either adopt this attitude, or else bestir ourselves to the application of our morality with greater care to the solution of this age-long problem.

We will not easily believe that our ideas are wrong, but we must confess that we have hopelessly failed in applying Christianity to the problem before us. And Christianity has failed here for the same reason that it has failed in other departments of life—simply because it has never been tried. Let us frankly admit that the Church has never tried to solve the question of social vice; she has not created any paraphernalia, she has not educated her people, she has not even preached upon the subject. In her way, there have been and still are mighty obstacles which she has not been able to surmount. And yet most of these obstacles are of her own

making and the task of unmaking them will be as difficult as the surmounting. But it must be done. Here is one of the clearest challenges which the Church hears, and in responding she will come to one of the most difficult tasks she ever attempted. She must bestir herself, and she must do it immediately; else the tidal wave of immorality which the war has set in motion will engulf us.

One of the greatest difficulties between the Church and her task has been her inability to obtain access to the people she would help. It is quite true that the Church has made little attempt in this direction, but her reticence has been caused largely by the knowledge that a deep gulf, almost impassable, stretches between her and the denizens of the underworld. How could this be bridged? Street preaching, home missionaries, rescue schemes, have all failed, and even now we know no way by which a minister or any other religious worker can get in personal touch with depraved women in such a manner as to impress them with the sense of their sin. And this situation has been rendered more difficult by the type of persons who have taken upon themselves the task of such work. Usually they have been men or women of limited intellectual ability and with absolutely no grasp upon the details of their work; they have gone into the slums with a sentimental evangelistic message and have endeavored to convert the wayward out of hand. But they have had no conception of the social problem involved, and have been completely baffled at the first question, "Then what shall become of us?" If

the underworld is to be evangelized, men and women of the very highest attainments, intellectually and spiritually, must take the task in hand.

And at the outset, the Church must find some answer to return to the question, "Then what shall become of us?" The saddest fact in connection with the whole problem is that the sinful are practically barred from reforming and taking their places in a respectable society. This is the point to which immediate attention must be paid. We have no homes, no schools, and no other agencies to which these people can be taken and where they can be rehabilitated. And the situation would be bettered but little even if we had such agencies. To be known as the inmate of such an institution is as bad as to be known as a courtesan, and it is a true instinct which prompts most women to avoid them. What is needed is a different attitude on the part of society toward the unfortunate. Let us realize at once that the trouble is not all on the side of the sinner. They will reform in large numbers the moment we make up our minds to let them reform. The present attitude of society is the thing that keeps them in the immoral life, for it denies them employment, opportunity and respectability. How, then, can they reform?

Let us imagine what would happen in the average Church if a woman known to be a prostitute should prostrate herself at the altar and confess her sins, seeking and obtaining salvation in the way taught by the Church. Then what? Could she take her place in the pew as a member of the Church on a level with the other

Christians, say, on the level of the man who was responsible for her ruin? We all know she could not. If the pastor introduced her to his ladies' society she would be either spurned or treated with such reserve that life would be made unbearable. Not a woman in the congregation would give her employment in the home or associate with her upon terms of equality. No man would care to seek her company, unless indeed he were seeking to drag her down again. Such a woman would have absolutely no hope because the Christian people in the Church would allow her none. And at the same time the man who had been responsible for her defection might associate with the best people of the community at his pleasure. The only chance for a reforming sinner, if she be a woman, is to live a life of deception, to hide her past from all the world; and this means to live in constant dread and haunted by a sense of her own hypocrisy. In this state there can be no true religion and no reformation. But the fault is not upon the sinner; it rests at the door of the respectable people, those who profess to be followers of the Christ who said, "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

The plea is made that such an attitude is necessary for the protection of society. We all know how carefully a mother should guard her daughter and shield her from persons and influences that might cause her ruin. But is it really true that we prevent immorality by making one false step fatal? We have notified our girls severely enough that if they go wrong they are doomed forever, but the notification has not checked the sin. It

has only kept the girls in it after they enter. If this attitude is right, in Heaven's name, let it be applied impartially to men and women alike. At a state legislature before which a bill for the establishment of a segregated vice district was pending there appeared a woman who caused the introduction of a similar bill applying to all men frequenting the district; the men were to be segregated and subjected to all the restrictions which the bill ordered for the women. This was enough to prevent the enactment of the law. Yet there was no reason why one would not be as just and as safe as the other.

It is a risky thing to advise the lowering of the stern attitude against fallen women, but since this attitude is the only thing that prevents reformation such advice must be given. This is not to say that the social evil must be regarded lightly. But it is to say that persons who have committed this sin have the same right of pardon as other sinners, and we have no moral justification for erecting a barrier against them. When thieves, murderers, and highwaymen are allowed to repent and be respectable, we have no right to deny the privilege to the women who fall. They should be forced to prove their repentance by their works to be sure, but we must open the way for them to regain the place in society which they forfeited when they sinned. If we do not do this, then let us no longer claim to be the representatives of Christ on earth. For if the example of Christ teaches us anything, it surely is that women taken in sin have His utmost respect and sympathy and kindness.

But how shall we protect our homes? There is but

one way, and this is educational. The lack of proper training in home, and school, and Church on this subject is a national disgrace to us. I have never heard a sermon on the subject. I have never known it to be mentioned to any children in the home. I know of no school that takes notice of it in the curriculum. We are leaving our young people to their own devices, letting them grow up in ignorance and gain all their information from the most vicious sources. And when we have thus dealt with them, we place the eternal brand of shame on their brows at the first false step. Then we wrap our sanctimonious cloak of respectability about ourselves and ease our consciences, as Pilate washed from his hands the blood of Christ. And yet at our own door crouches the sin. On our own shoulders rests the responsibility. At our own hands shall the blood of a thousand erring girls be required.

Let the Church give some of the thought which she now expends upon foolish intricacies of theology to this practical and urgent problem of sin and salvation. Let her put some of her wealth into agencies which will insure kindness and helpfulness to the fallen. Her oratory ought to be brought to bear upon the text: "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." Revelation should claim less attention and Hosea more. Make it known that there is a gospel for those who fall, and that sympathy and comfort in the truest sense await such at the house of God. Let people who call themselves Christian display the spirit of Christ to those who are in truth their sisters. By laws and state regulation we

should protect our girls and exterminate the breed of men who speculate in their blood, either openly or through the medium of factories and department stores. Then give us, through home, school, and Church, the most comprehensive and far-reaching educational movement we have ever seen, so thorough that no child who reaches the age of understanding can escape its influence. When we have done all this we will be in a fair way to grapple seriously with the social evil.

CHAPTER II

WHAT DOES IRELAND INTEND?

Since all the statesmen, diplomats, and publicists of Europe have failed to arrive at a solution of the Irish question, and since Irishmen themselves are hopelessly divided on a matter with which they are perfectly familiar and in which they are vitally concerned, it appears presumptuous for a casual observer, and he a foreigner, to venture any word upon it. But even surface impressions have a certain value, especially if they are arrived at without any previous bias. An American is perhaps the only person, from that standpoint, who is qualified to speak, for strict impartiality in regard to Ireland scarcely exists anywhere in Europe. Men are either pro-Irish or anti-Irish, so much so that one must read with care any of the innumerable books and pamphlets which are issued in regard to the problem. I suppose that more passion, prejudice, enmity, and misrepresentation have come about in this connection than has been true of any problem which ever vexed the public affairs of the world.

One of the surprising things in the war is the loyalty with which the colonies have risen to the defense of the British Empire. The self-governing dominions adopted

conscription, if they needed it, in order to furnish a full quota of troops, and we have seen that Britain possessed a solidarity hitherto undreamed of. The southern provinces of Ireland have been the only outstanding exception to this rule; and the fact that opposition also developed in the Catholic sections of Canada and Australia serves only to make more prominent and regrettable the defection of these Irish. For this has emphasized the religious difficulty which rests at the base of the Irish question, and the result has been to widen the breach already existing between the Protestant and Catholic elements in the population and to lay the Catholics open to the charges of treason and disloyalty.

As an American sincerely attached to the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, as a democrat believing that the will of the majority should rule, and as a Protestant without prejudice against Rome or sympathy with anti-Catholic propaganda, I visited the various sections of Ireland for the purpose of obtaining first-hand information and personal impressions. And I came away with the opinion that the attitude of southern Irishmen at the present time is altogether impossible, deplorable, and unworthy. Their program, if carried into execution, will mean anarchy in the Emerald Isle, it will threaten the stability of the British Empire and all that is thus represented, it will mean a harking back for many generations in that section of the world, and it will ultimately mean the ruination of Ireland.

Sinn Feinism controls the south, and has been able

to unseat the Nationalists in Parliament; in their stead radicals have been elected who refused to take their seats, and even boasted in the campaigns that if elected they would ignore the Commons. The result is that the places at Westminster have been vacated, no one is at hand to care for Irish interests, and we have the spectacle of the south standing apart and raving over problems which they refuse to assist in settling. But this is to the liking of Sinn Fein, and the great majority of the southern people honestly believe that by such a process they are destined to obtain the independence they crave.

The most outstanding feature of the present situation is the ardency with which these people defend their position and the eagerness with which they seek to obtain support from Americans. The time-worn arguments against England, all of them arranged without any historical sense whatever, have been mastered by men and women of all classes, and the American passing through the island is besieged constantly by enthusiastic apologists. On trains, in hotels, on the streets, in jaunting carts, he is beleaguered, the people encompassing the earth to make one proselyte to their cause. Members of Parliament and other dignitaries are everywhere met with, and their cordiality is always the precursor of the eternal question, "What do you think of England's treatment of Ireland?" The cart driver cannot take one three blocks until he inquires, "Why should we fight for England?" Loungers in hotel lobbies seek out the traveler to demand, "What does America think of the Irish



IRELAND & CONSCRIPTION

UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE MANSION HOUSE CONFERENCE

Thursday, 18th April, 1918. Presided over by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Dublin.
PRESENT: Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith, John Dillon, M.P., Joseph Devlin, M.P., William O'Brien, M.P., T. M. Healy, M.P., W. O'Brien, President Irish Trades Union Congress, Thomas Johnson (Belloy), M. Egan, J.P., E.C. (C.)

TAKING our stand on Ireland's separate and distinct nationality, and affirming the principle of liberty, that the Government of nations derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, we show the right of the British Government, or any external authority to impose compulsory military service in Ireland against the clearly expressed will of the Irish people.

The passing of the Conscription Bill by the British House of Commons must be regarded as a declaration

of war on the Irish nation. The alternative to accepting it is such as to surrender our liberties and to acknowledge ourselves slaves. It is in direct violation of the rights of small nations as to self-determination, which even the Prime Minister of England, now preparing to impose armed intervention and force his Act upon Ireland himself, recently announced as an essential condition of peace at the Peace Conference.

The attempt to enforce it will be an unwarrantable aggression, which we call upon all Irishmen to resist by the most effective means at their disposal.

This Declaration was signed by all the Members of the Conference.

Eamonn de Valera, John Dillon, M.P., T. M. Healy, M.P., and W. O'Brien were appointed a deputation from the Mansion House Conference to at once confer with the Archbishops and Bishops then assembled at Maynooth College, Co. Kildare. After hearing the deputation and exchanging views, the Prelates came to the following conclusions:

The Bishops direct the clergy to celebrate a public Mass of intercession in each Sunday in every church in Ireland to avert the danger of conscription with which Ireland is now threatened. They further direct that an announcement be made at every public Mass on Sunday next of a public meeting to be held in that diocese at an hour and place to be specified in the announcement, for the purpose of administering the following advice against compulsory conscription in Ireland:

"During the night of St. Patrick's Day, which is a solemn day, we advise in this manner, to pledge our lives to the cause of resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal."

The clergy are also requested by the Bishops to announce on Sunday next (24th April) that a conference will be held at an early suitable date outside the church gates for the purpose of supplying means to resist the imposition of compulsory military service.

THE HIERARCHY'S PROUNCEMENT

An attempt is being made to force conscription upon Ireland against the will of the Irish nation and in defiance of the protests of its leaders.

In view especially of the historic relations between the two countries from the very beginning up to the present moment, we conclude that conscription forced in this way upon Ireland is an oppressive and inhospitable law, which the Irish people have a right to resist by all the means that are consistent with the law of God.

We wish to remind our people that there is a higher Power which controls the affairs of men. They have in their hands the means of constituting their power by their adherence to the Divine law, by more earnest attention to their religious duties, and by fervent and persevering prayer.

In order to secure the aid of the Holy Mother of God, who shielded our people in the days of their greatest trials, we have already summoned a National Assembly in honour of Our Lady of Lourdes, commencing on the 3rd May, to secure general and domestic peace.

We also exhort the heads of families to have the Rosary recited every evening with the intention of protecting the spiritual and temporal welfare of our beloved country, and bringing us safe through the crisis of our troubled graves.

The foregoing statement was signed by the following:

His Eminence Cardinal Lucas
Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin
Most Rev. Dr. Barry, Archbishop of Cashel
Most Rev. Dr. Hartigan, Bishop of Ossory
Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphae
Most Rev. Dr. Browne, Bishop of Clonane
Most Rev. Dr. Byrne, Bishop of Ardagh
Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin
Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Ross
Most Rev. Dr. O'Dell, Bishop of Cloyne
Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Kilmac
Most Rev. Dr. Gallagher, Bishop of Meath
Most Rev. Dr. A. H. Hughes, Bishop of Derry
Most Rev. Dr. McKenna, Bishop of Clonfert

Most Rev. Dr. Galloghery, Bishop of Cloyne
Most Rev. Dr. Funnage, Bishop of Kilmac
Most Rev. Dr. Munro, Bishop of Achard
Most Rev. Dr. Vaughan, Bishop of Ardfert
Most Rev. Dr. Byrne, Bishop of Clonane
Most Rev. Dr. Coughlan, Bishop of Cork
Most Rev. Dr. MacRory, Bishop of Down and Connor
Most Rev. Dr. Hackett, Bishop of Waterford and Ross
Lismore
Most Rev. Dr. McEwen, Bishop of Down
Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Kilmac
Most Rev. Dr. O'Connell, Bishop of Kilmac
Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Kilmac
Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Kilmac

PROCLAMATIONS OF THE MANSION HOUSE CONFERENCE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH URGING THE IRISH TO RESIST CONSCRIPTION

question?" Shop-keepers greet the American genially, and at once lead up to the query, "If Mr. Wilson believes in self-determination for small nationalities, will he not right our wrongs?" And so from one end of the country to another the poor wayfarer is sought, courted, cajoled, flattered, and fed on a diet of ancient argument which he has heard from his youth up. And a great propaganda machine is maintained to convince America that the Irish are friendly to the States.

As to whether they really are friendly to us, one can only judge by events. The city of Cork has been placed "out of bounds" to American sailors because of the riots and brawls, resulting in actual bloodshed, which their presence in the city caused. Even at Queenstown I was informed that Americans riding bicycles along the roads had been stoned until they were forced to discontinue the exercise. When I arrived at Cork I was met by a Y. M. C. A. secretary in civilian clothing who explained that he had discarded his uniform to avoid trouble; in London I was even advised to lay aside my uniform before venturing into Ireland. On one occasion several men in khaki, with U. S. on their collars, deemed it the part of wisdom to remain in the hotel during the evening and were subjected to taunts through the windows from the young Irishmen on the streets. A religious director of the Young Men's Christian Association told me that he had been attacked on the street, and soon his story was verified in my own experience.

I reached Cork one evening when the atmosphere was surcharged with the spirit of rebellion. A great Sinn

Fein street meeting had been scheduled as a demonstration against England, a large speakers' platform had been erected in the Grand Parade, and the young Irishmen had flocked in from the surrounding country to participate in the anti-English séance. The meeting had, however, been dissolved by order of the commander of the British garrison, the streets were guarded by constables with carbines, and the soldiers were patrolling with fixed bayonets; everywhere were groups of Sinn Feiners, sullen, angry, muttering under their breath. As I passed as quietly as possible down the street I could hear remarks issuing from the various knots of youngsters: "There is a damned Yankee," "damned American," and the like. Suddenly a man emerged from a group, lifted a small cane, and struck me violently across the face, while his action was greeted by roars and shouts of laughter from his compatriots.

These actions indicate that the love of Sinn Fein for our country is not so wholehearted as it might be, and yet it would be an injustice to say that they are representative of the general sentiment prevailing among the more stable citizenship. At heart these people understand that they have no friends among the Allies except America, and for the most part they are anxious to cultivate this friendship for ulterior reasons; but their hatred of England is so deep, their desire to see her humiliated so intense, that among the young Irishmen, who constitute the strength of Sinn Fein, it often expresses itself in hostility towards all those who are assisting in

saving England from the defeat which is so cordially wished her.

That this element is pro-German and traitorous to the cause for which we contended there can be little doubt. The British Government has apprehended them in many plots with the enemy, and it is a matter of common conversation on the streets of Irish towns that the German submarines are making regular attempts to land ammunition and machine guns on Irish soil. Although I have tried repeatedly, I was never once able to induce a Sinn Feiner, or any other southerner, for that matter, to speak one word in condemnation of Germany. When in the midst of vehement strictures against England I have injected the question, "Would you prefer the domination of Germany?" the result has been a quiet and hesitating "No," or a total silence; in either case the speaker refused to discuss the matter. Certain of them, however, have gone so far as to declare that "German rule could be no worse than English at any rate."

This attitude of mind prevailing everywhere in the south, while it can hardly be explained, creates a distinct atmosphere of hostility which can be felt most uncomfortably by the pro-ally traveler. It is constantly impressed upon him that there is something wrong with this country, that sedition and rebellion are in the very air, that respect for law and order has reached a low ebb. It is, of course, a matter of common knowledge that Sinn Fein is bending heaven and earth to arm itself, in spite of the law against drilling and keeping arms. Burglary always follows a report that a citizen

has a rifle or pistol in his house, and from the British garrison on Bere Island, as well as from the American submarine base and kite balloon station at Castletown Bere, the signal rockets and lights can be seen issuing from the hills as Sinn Fein calls her devotees together or flashes communications to enemy submarines. One day I was standing on the pier at Castletown Bere when a man wearing a green hat appeared; the hangers-on greeted him warmly and he remarked, "Remember the green, Friday night"; whereupon his hearers all saluted respectfully and the man rode away on a bicycle. The incident was significant of the plans and the organization of Sinn Fein in this remote section of Ireland.

When the present war broke out there were, of course, a large number of Irishmen who desired heartily to see England decisively defeated and humbled, and they saw in such a possibility the "liberation" of their island. Germany believed that Ireland was ripe for a rebellion and her propaganda was set to work in an effort to hasten that event, an effort which bore abundant fruit in the Easter rebellion. This fiasco settled, and in a manner by no means as harsh as the Irish agitators would have us believe, England was in a position to control the turbulent people if she had been able to adopt a definite and firm Irish policy. But as a matter of fact England had no Irish policy, and has never had. By using pacific methods with a people who have always refused to be pacified she permitted, and even encouraged, the formation of other plots and the general dissatisfaction of the population. The Irish constantly complain against

the cruelty of England and the oppression to which they are subjected at the hands of that power, but most disinterested people who visit Ireland are almost amazed at the laxity of her administration of the Defense of the Realm acts and at the insults and seditious encouragements which she tolerates. When we in easy-going and tolerant America were arresting men for remarking that the Red Cross was a "fake," England was permitting Irish people and newspapers to call the flag a "floor-mat," stage giant demonstrations against the Empire and the war, and talk openly in severe denunciation of the government of which they are a part, even to the limit of declaring in open parliament that a rebellion would be advised if the leaders could persuade themselves that it would be successful. In the Grand Parade in Cork there stands a great monument bearing the names of "the martyr vanguard," mostly men who have been executed for treason, and an inscription urging young Irishmen to follow their example; and in the great Dublin cemetery one of the epitaphs reads thus: "I have been adjudged guilty of treason. Treason is a foul crime. Dante places traitors in the ninth circle of hell, I believe the lowest circle. But what kind of traitors are these? Traitors against country, kindred, and benefactors. But England is not my country and I have betrayed no friend. I leave the matter there." I doubt if there is a land on earth where such open sedition would be tolerated as is carried on daily in Ireland.

Great Britain believes that Ireland would be pacified somewhat if she were placed on the footing with other

self-governing dominions, and thus the home rule and conscription bills were prepared. But the result was an explosion more violent than any that had occurred hitherto. Sinn Fein did not desire and would not have Home Rule, Ulster of course set her face against it, and conscription was opposed like the plague. All over the south the anger of the people waxed hot, and that section became a seething caldron of disaffection and sedition. The population resolved to resist unto the last limit, and they pledged themselves, men and women alike, to oppose conscription by all the means at their disposal. Anti-conscription pledges were signed everywhere, hundreds of thousands affixing their signatures and displaying the little white buttons on their lapels as a token of their resistance. There were meetings, committees, plots, and movements in every city, town, and village to crystallize sentiment and weld together the opposition. The observer could not escape the knowledge that southern Ireland would have nothing to do with the war or allow the people to be conscripted. The young men of military age swarmed the streets of the larger towns by multiplied thousands, showing by their very numbers what Ireland could do in the way of supplying man power to the armies if she only would.

And now for the first time the Church came openly to the front and assumed the leadership of the anti-British crusade. The Church, as is well known, had always been behind the sentiment against the Empire, but hitherto her influence had been more or less veiled; now it is open and avowed. The priests head the committees, issue the

propaganda literature, handle the funds of rebellion, make the political speeches, and influence the people to sign the anti-conscription pledges. These pledges are always signed in the Churches after special masses, and in each town there are great posters urging the people to attend the masses and sign the pledges. This is the text of the pledge and the inscription on the buttons: "Denying the right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country, we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist Conscription by the most effective means at our disposal." The women wear buttons which pledge them to refuse to take the place of any person conscripted and to assist the families of those who may suffer through resistance.

The hierarchy made the following pronouncement, which was signed by Cardinal Logue and all the bishops and archbishops of Ireland: "The Bishops direct the clergy to celebrate a public Mass of intercession on next Sunday in every Church in Ireland to avert the scourge of conscription with which Ireland is now threatened. They further direct that an announcement be made at every public Mass on Sunday next of a public meeting to be held on that day at an hour and place to be specified in the announcement, for the purpose of administering the following pledge against compulsory conscription in Ireland: 'Denying the right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country, we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal.' The clergy are also requested by the Bishops to announce

on Sunday next that a collection will be held at an early suitable date outside the Church gates for the purpose of supplying means to resist the imposition of compulsory military service.

“An attempt is being made to force conscription upon Ireland against the will of the Irish nation and in defiance of the protests of its leaders. In view especially of the historic relations between the two countries from the very beginning up to the present moment, we consider that conscription forced in this way upon Ireland is an oppressive and inhuman law, which the Irish people have a right to resist by all the means that are consonant with the law of God. We wish to remind our people that there is a higher Power which controls the affairs of men. They have in their hands the means of conciliating that Power by strict adherence to the Divine law, by more earnest attention to their religious duties, and by fervent and persevering prayer. In order to secure the aid of the Holy Mother of God, who shielded our people in the days of their greatest trials, we have already sanctioned a National Novena in honor of Our Lady of Lourdes, commencing on the 3rd May, to secure general and domestic peace. We also exhort the heads of families to have the Rosary recited every evening with the intention of protecting the spiritual and temporal welfare of our beloved country, and bringing us safely through this crisis of unparalleled gravity.”

This action on the part of the hierarchy followed the famous Mansion House Conference, attended by Irish

leaders and Members of Parliament and presided over by the Lord Mayor of Dublin. This Conference started the opposition to conscription by issuing the following statement: "Taking our stand on Ireland's separate and distinct nationhood, and affirming the principle of liberty, that Governments of nations derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, we deny the right of the British Government or any external authority to impose compulsory military service in Ireland against the clearly expressed will of the Irish people. The passing of the Conscription Bill by the British House of Commons must be regarded as a declaration of war on the Irish nation. The alternative to accepting it as such is to surrender our liberties and to acknowledge ourselves slaves. It is in direct violation of the rights of small nationalities to self-determination, which even the Prime Minister of England—now preparing to employ naked militarism and force his Act upon Ireland—himself officially announced as an essential condition for peace at the Peace Conference. The attempt to enforce it will be an unwarrantable aggression, which we call upon all Irishmen to resist by the most effective means at their disposal."

These pronouncements are sufficient indications of the light in which the Irish regard conscription and the lengths to which they are determined to go in preventing its operation. The Lord Mayor of Dublin applied for passports to visit America in order to lay his case before the President, and he was assured that such passports would be granted him; he refused, however, to per-

mit the proper authorities to examine the documents he was carrying and on this account the journey was not made. I was frequently asked about the attitude of America. "Are you coming here to shoot us down also?" was a form which the query often took. And my reply always was the same: "I do not think America will have any part in the policing of Ireland. There has always existed in our country a great sympathy for the Irish cause, but I am quite sure the President and people will not look kindly upon any attempts or movements which are calculated to weaken England's efforts in the winning of the war."

I was in Ireland during the spirited campaign in East Cavan between a nationalist candidate and Arthur Griffith, a Sinn Feiner who was at that time in Birmingham prison on a charge of high treason. The Sinn Fein cause was being represented by various priests, and the result was a victory for Griffith, who gained strength by virtue of his prison experience, by a large majority. At this time excitement was running high. The proclamation of Lord French calling for 50,000 volunteers in lieu of conscription was referred to in the columns of "Young Ireland" as "the magnificent French farce," under a heading "Imperial Grand Theatre of Varieties." In regard to the call for the 50,000, the following is a characteristic editorial from the Sinn Fein press:

"Like the *Irish Times*, we are certainly astonished at the very reasonable demand made by the Military Governor, and General Governor of Ireland. Fifty thousand! Sure, boys, we would never miss that number of

fly-boys out of Ireland. Their fathers would still be here to contribute the 2,000 or 3,000 required monthly as from the first of October, 1918. We would, however, advise Governor French not to expect too many of these fly-boys till about the day before the entries close, as they would not think of joining up in the middle of the season. They are getting nice and tanned at our seaside resorts, and, when caught, they will, we have no doubt, make good soldiers. Their papas, who only arrived over here recently, will be ready when their time comes. The younger fry are making themselves fit by constant exercise. As you will understand, hide and seek is a good fat-reducing medium, and, as most of them are continually 'on the run,' they will prove just the stuff you want, Jackie. The only request which they are likely to make is that they will be allowed to retain, when on more active service, their distinctive national costume—broad trousers and hipped coats. They are looking after the alteration of the facial and nasal departments themselves. When you get these 50,000 and the 5,000,000 American troops, you will have about 5,000,000 good fighting men. If that is not enough, we know where more can be got. We append first lists:—

Irish Times Office:

Editorial—9 likely, 2 fit.

Works—Many probables and fit.

Offices—9 likely, 2 fit.

Reporters—4 likely, 4 fit.

Young Ireland Office:

Editorial—None likely, all fit.

Works—None likely, all fit.

Offices—None likely, all fit.

Reporters—None likely, all fit.

(Exemption claimed owing to the fact that theirs is work of national importance).

Nationality Offices:

(Same remarks as *Young Ireland*.)

Freeman's Journal Offices:

Editorial—6 likely.

(On government work.)

Banba—1 likely.

(Cannot be spared, although as a fly-boy he should go with the first 50,000.)

Letter writers—20 likely.

Works—20 likely.

Offices—20 likely.

Reporters—5 likely.

(Grand total—82 probables.)”

Perhaps one or two other quotations from Sinn Fein journals, picked up at random, will be illuminating. One paper thus observes: “Discovering plots is seemingly becoming an international (All-lies only) pastime. In France it is known as ‘Boloism,’ in England it is, we believe, called the ‘Black Book, or the 47,000,’ and America calls it ‘Treason,’ and, although enthusiasm dropped in the ‘land of the free’ after Police Inspector Flynn was deposed, it is now revived with a vengeance. Mr. Jeremiah O’Leary and five others have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury on charges of Treason.”

Everywhere the most strenuous means are adopted to make the opposition to conscription and England unanimous. For example, when several leaders were arrested for treasonable communications and plots with the enemy, Sinn Fein demanded that all Ireland denounce these arrests. The Clogheen Guardians declined to pass the required resolution, and at once a convention was held at Burntcour, which forced two of the Guardians to resign and unanimously called on the others to do likewise. When Sinn Fein was declared to be a dangerous organization the Armagh Asylum Committee dismissed a store-keeper who was head of the local cumann, and the action was brought before every Sinn Fein club in the country, the members "being resolved to carry on the movement, as per instructions from the Executive in Dublin, regardless of any interference by the authorities." When the chairman of the Mullingar Board of Guardians was asked to resign his position as Justice of the Peace as a protest against conscription he declined, and immediately the board elected to succeed him a member of the Westmeath Sinn Fein Chaimhairle Ceann-tair. And the following item of news sheds an interesting light on Sinn Fein methods also: "Messrs. Thomas Hickey, Lisgibbon, and D. O'Brien, Golden, received a hearty welcome on their return home after two months' imprisonment in Belfast for drilling the local Volunteers. They were met at the local station by a band and an enormous crowd, who escorted them to their homes."

Now what does Ireland intend? Under the leadership of Sinn Fein she plans for complete and absolute

independence, the making of Ireland into a separate Republic. This Celtic I. W. W., this Irish Bolsheviki, will have no more to do with Home Rulers than she will with Ulster—the principles of both Nationalist and Unionist are alike rejected. In the attainment of their ambitions they do not ask any concessions or favors from Great Britain; the Sinn Fein members of Parliament refuse to take their seats at Westminster, and they maintain an attitude of aloofness from the motherland. They are at war with Great Britain, because the Mansion House Conference decreed that the conscription act was a declaration of hostilities. They go over the head of Parliament and look to the Peace Conference for the righting of their wrongs and the establishment of the republic of their dreams. Drawing inspiration from the history and literature of their past, rejecting even the English language in so far as possible, they hope to appear at the conference table as a distinct and much-oppressed nationality clamoring for liberation. And on the Peace Conference they pin all their hopes. Thus the matter is summed up by "Young Ireland": "When we said 'nation' did we mean a shire of England; did we mean a colony of the British Empire; did we mean that the Irish people would be much obliged to their oppressors for allowing them to contribute towards their own degradation? Is a country that is content to pick up the crumbs of justice which may fall from the tables of her oppressor worthy of the honor of nationhood? What respect can a bully have for a cringing and fawning slave? 'Down on your knees, you dog,' sums up the

answer Ireland may expect to get for degrading herself by crawling through the filth of Westminster to kiss the feet of England's Prime Minister. If Ireland is a nation she can demand her rights at the Peace Conference. She cannot be content to remain in slavery."

Supporting the plea for independence there is put forward a series of figures designed to prove that such a republic as Sinn Fein proposes could be self-supporting. This has always been the difficulty encountered by the radicals, it having been a foregone conclusion that without Ulster, which shows no disposition to enter a republic and which possesses the wealth of Ireland, the new government could not maintain itself; therefore Sinn Fein has always coupled with a demand for independence a further demand that England grant to Ireland a subsidy sufficient to pay the bills for a number of years. There now seems a disposition to abandon the latter phase of the matter, the leaders realizing its futility and at the same time becoming convinced that they can support themselves. Their figures have been drawn up to show that Ireland has more square miles of territory than either Belgium, Holland, Denmark, or Switzerland, and about the same as Serbia, Greece, Portugal, and Bulgaria; in the matter of population she is larger than Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland, and about the same in population as Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. It is pointed out that "Dublin Castle" rule cost Ireland last year 23,766,000 pounds, while Serbia, Greece, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Norway, and Denmark supported their governments at a much smaller expense.

"Liberty costs only 32s. per head in Bulgaria, 35s. in Serbia, 37s. in Switzerland, 40s. in Greece, 51s. in Sweden, 55s. in Portugal, and 60s. in Norway; in Ireland subjection and corruption cost us 5 pounds 8 shillings per head." "Judged by any standard we may select, Ireland is admirably fitted for freedom. She is large enough, populous enough, and rich enough. For the money we paid England last year we could run the government business of Bulgaria, Norway, and Denmark, paying for all their police, soldiers, ships, and guns. Is not Ireland fooled and robbed long enough? The hour for freedom and the Irish Republic has struck." It is unnecessary to discuss the correctness of these statistics or to inquire how they were obtained; to demonstrate their uselessness it is necessary only to point out that the statisticians quietly take it for granted that Ulster, the dominating factor in the matter of wealth and quite influential in population and territory, will enter heartily into the new scheme. But this is by no means the case, for Ulster will have none of it; and she stands ready to prove at any time to the entire satisfaction of the south that she cannot be coerced.

Ireland has appeared clamoring at the Peace Conference, and she has behind her the influence of the Vatican. The whole course of recent events tends to confirm this view. In every country where Irish propaganda is carried on, in America as well as in other lands, the movement is backed by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and headed by the adherents and priests of that communion; this fact makes it all

the more deplorable that the United States should tolerate an agitation which constantly endeavors to engender bitterness toward the nation which should be our best friend—the British Empire. To those who have knowledge of the methods of the See of Rome it appears inconceivable that the Irish clergy would have launched on such a far-flung program of political aspiration without the consent of the Pope, and if that consent were given we may well inquire into the meaning of it. Does the Pope desire Ireland as another papal state? Will Ireland consent to be so placed? That His Holiness desires a seat free from the sovereignty of any other power is well known, and Ireland is the only place on earth where his occupancy would meet with the approval of the population. That the Irishmen of the south would accept his lordship there seems not the slightest doubt—that Ulster would not, goes without saying. But since Ulster cannot be included in any nationalistic scheme without her protest, it may be that some scheme of partition is considered.

I say one may well believe that both the Pope and the southern Irish have some such plan in consideration. Yet it is needless to discuss it, for its consummation is not even in the range of remote possibilities. Not a single nation among the Powers would approve it. And yet none need be surprised if some such agitation appears.

CHAPTER III

THE ROOT OF THE IRISH QUESTION

The antagonism on the part of the Irish toward England is as old as the relations between these two countries. Its roots run deep in history, and it still flourishes because it is constantly watered by religious agitation and prejudice. The Irish regard themselves as a subdued people in a conquered country. Possessing no historical sense and exaggerating their own abilities and virtues, they are totally blind to their own crimes while those of England loom large before them. "Like a wounded animal, Celtic Ireland is always licking her sores and nursing her anger. Her leaders are forever raking into the embers, or rather the burnt-out cinders, of the past. To them there is no amnesty of complaints, and the remembrance of mistakes and wrongs is ever fresh. Time brings no limitation of offenses, and no healing on its wings. Without a single grievance in the present, the self-styled Nationalists are forever talking of the old tyranny of England, and her old oppression of Ireland. Not a word do they utter of England's awakened conscience, or of her sincere desire to remedy every wrong, and to conciliate every subject throughout her Empire."

That the crimes of England toward Ireland have been great, no man, not even the most loyal Englishman, would care to deny, and no lover of justice can hold a brief for her in this regard. But Ireland's skirts are not clear. Her cruelty has rivaled that of England, and as for intolerance her guilt is deeper in that she has never repented or forsaken her ways. She will not understand that actions are to be judged by the prevailing moral standards of the age in which they are performed, and not by the more exalted standards of more enlightened times. And so she goes back into past centuries and finds there oppressions, cruelties, and injustices on the part of England, and when she finds them she drags them across the centuries unchanged and holds them up in the light of present day morality, in which they naturally appear repulsive. "This is England," she exclaims. But it is not England. It is the seventeenth century in the light of the most tender conscience the world ever knew. And when such a process is coupled with complete forgetfulness of her own shortcomings, it constitutes injustice and misrepresentation on the part of Ireland of the worst sort. Suppose the horrors and the unspeakable villainy of Ireland's massacre of Protestants, than which no more vile crime stains the page of history, were to be pictured in its true colors and underneath it the legend were placed, "This is Ireland!" There would be a world-wide Irish protest, and justly so. Yet the stock in trade of Irish agitators even to-day is the painting of just such portraits of England. And this in spite of the fact that no

people on earth have had greater concessions made to them than the Irish have received from England in the past two generations.

Ireland is indeed a conquered country. She was invaded first by the Normans at the close of the eighth century. In the middle of the twelfth century Pope Adrian IV granted Ireland to Henry II with instructions to possess the island "for the purpose of enlarging the borders of the Church, setting bounds to the progress of wickedness, reforming evil manners, planting virtue, and increasing the Christian religion." It surely seems that the Irish would respect the signature on that deed! From that day the soil of Ireland has been the scene of almost constant warfare. No less than four times the country has been conquered, and the insurrections and rebellions have been innumerable. A history of Ireland is most wearisome reading, being as it is a long, verbose record of rebellions, plots, schemes, intrigues, injustice, oppression, and bloodshed. England found the ancient tribal system of land tenure in vogue in Ireland, and indeed the people have not yet gone beyond their ideals of such a tenure. The feudal system conflicted sharply with the holdings of the clan, and through the process of wars and consequent confiscation of the lands of the rebel chieftains the landlord system, which has been the curse of Ireland, was built up. These landlords were largely absentees, holding lands from which the Irish themselves had been driven, exacting rents from the poverty-stricken peasants, and holding these at their mercy. Through the system of ejections which

was practiced, thousands of persons were thrown from their homes and lands, and suffering untold became the consequence. And when on top of all this England passed laws to kill the Irish trade because of its competition with English commerce, the climax of suffering was reached.

To this there was added the religious persecution of the people. Henry VIII attempted to extirpate Catholicism, and the Penal Laws which were directed against the Catholics were oppressive in the extreme. They were denied some of the most fundamental of all human rights, and the steel entered their soul to leave a rancor that has never passed away. Religious persecution is never justified, but it is simple truth to say that the English in Ireland are not the only ones who will have to answer for crimes in this regard. Roman Catholics, of all people, can condemn Protestants for intolerance with the least consistency, for the entire history of this Church shows that it has also been one of her favorite weapons. And it has been used in Ireland. Each time, declare the Protestants, that the Catholics have gained the ascendancy they have been as bitter and as cruel against their enemies as any people have ever been toward themselves; in fact they have resorted to measures so extreme against Protestants that they shock the world even to-day. "We have learned from history," say the Protestants, "that the Irish or Celtic party, when it possessed supreme power, abused the opportunity to plunder the wealthy and industrious Protestants; and we can see

no change in the sentiments of a faction which has always displayed rancor and race-hatred towards us."

When we remember the prevailing ideas of the days in which these evils flourished we may find some sort of justification to apply to both sides. The confiscations were all according to law and were the result of rebellions on the part of the old holders. The Penal Laws were retaliations for the Catholic oppressions of Protestants under the reign of Tyrconnel. But nothing can be said for the commerce laws and the destruction of Irish trade. These were the results of the most selfish kind of perversity, and for them England deserves and has obtained the contempt of the civilized world. But for all other grievances one will have difficulty in deciding whose misdeeds weigh heaviest in the scales, unless we do as is common and follow the lead of our own prejudices in the matter. And so if we expect to find in the past history of the English and Irish relations the basis for a just settlement of their present misunderstanding we will be disappointed; the matter grounds in history, but this history is so tangled and crisscrossed with abuses and counter abuses that it is well-nigh impossible to disengage the various strands and estimate the comparative degrees of guilt.

Ireland is a conquered country which has never recognized the claims of the conqueror. She has been subjected to a long line of persecutions; her territory has been devastated, her people have been killed, she has been taxed for the support of a foreign and minority Church, her land has been wrested from her,

and ignominy of a thousand sorts has been heaped upon her. This is her case. But England retorts that she has a case also. Ireland has refused to be pacified, and has endeavored to give aid and comfort to every enemy that England ever had. She has murdered Protestants, and has organized a long line of prowling bands for the purposes of terrorizing the Protestants, driving off their cattle, burning their homes, and devastating their fields. Her emigrants have plotted against England on the soil of all the civilized nations of the earth. And thus the case stands. Far better would it be to call the contest a draw, forget the past, and effect a settlement on the basis of the present day situation. And on this basis no man can truthfully accuse England of treating Ireland with any degree of hardness; the exact opposite is the case.

The positions of the three different parties in Ireland are well known. First, and most important from every angle except in numerical strength, there are the Unionists, commonly known as the Ulster Protestants. They possess the wealth, the energy, the ability, and the intelligence of Ireland, and hold an unquestioned commercial supremacy. The inhabitants of northeast Ulster are descendants of English colonists, and their political attitude is that of a steady loyalty to the British Empire. It is by no means true that they are not devoted to Ireland, but they take the position that the interests of their island will be furthered by its connection with England. They are opposed to most phases of the Home Rule movement, and that for various reasons:

One is religious. The northern Protestants fear religious oppression at the hands of the Catholic majority if political control is vested in that majority. They remember the former massacres and it is their conviction that the Irish character has not changed; "I think it is not very unreasonable to suppose and believe that what the Irish people have done before they will do again," said Lord Hartington, and this expresses the sentiment of Ulster. Another reason is commercial. These Protestants possess the wealth and the industries of Ireland. But they are in a minority, and self-government would mean that they would have to finance the government while its affairs were administered by their enemies. Under the Irish situation the control of politics opens the way for abuses and oppressions of various kinds, and Ulster cannot be convinced that such would not be directed against her. Then there is the political side of the question. The north holds that there is no hope for Ireland detached from Britain. Such a Republic as might be set up would be the center of foreign intrigues and its position would make Ireland an easy and desirable prey for other powers. Her location on the shore of England would make all such movements inimical to that country, and in the end that Power would have no course open to her except to again conquer Ireland. Thus argue the Protestants.

The second party, the one that for long was the most numerous, calls itself the Nationalists. It embraces that section of the people who have so long contended for Home Rule, and they believe that the entire control of

Irish affairs should be in the hands of the Irish themselves. They have consistently demanded this of England. On their side they have most of the political arguments that appeal to the modern world; they have been in the majority and their demand for control of their own affairs is legitimate. This party is predominantly Roman Catholic and it has always had the support of the hierarchy of the Church. Priests have been its leaders and agitators. And herein lies the reason of its failure thus far, and the basis for the suspicions of Ulster.

The third group are the extremists who now call themselves the Sinn Feiners. They are a continuation of the old Fenian movement, and they draw their inspiration from the history, genius, and literature of old Ireland. These people go the whole length, and demand absolute and final separation from England. Ireland must be erected into an independent Republic and her talents must be allowed free exercise in her own life. This is also a Catholic movement, although it is not so distinctly religious as the Nationalist party and really embraces many Protestants in its fold. Its leaders are for the most part sincere and enthusiastic patriots. But it comprises the radical element of the country, and has been called the I. W. W. of Ireland. It opposes the aims of the Nationalists in that it will not agree to any half-way measures and advocates armed revolt against England. On this account it is regarded as a traitorous conspiracy by the government, and the Easter revolt, accomplished while the Empire was struggling for exis-

tence and with the connivance of the enemy, has embittered the English against it.

In any settlement of the Irish Question these three groups must be dealt with, and the claim of Great Britain must also be considered. Britain demands, and has a right to demand, that any government set up on her shore, especially from a part of her own body, shall be friendly to herself and thoroughly trustworthy. But she has no reason to believe that any Irish Republic would be friendly to her; the mind, history, and general attitude of Ireland make her think, indeed, that such a government would be hostile. Since the Irish have intrigued with every enemy that England ever had, it is natural that such suspicions should be aroused.

The problem of the pacification of Ireland is thus exceedingly complicated by the fact that all four of the interests concerned stand upon platforms that are reasonable and legitimate. The suspicions of both England and Ulster are well founded, as history attests, and the safeguards demanded by both are legitimate. According to all our ideas of democracy the majority should rule and Ireland should have the right to direct her own affairs, and thus the Nationalists gain strength. And again, no man can dispute the fact that the Irish genius should have free exercise, and that no people should be held under an alien power against their own will, and here lies the power of Sinn Fein. But the real issue lies between Ulster and the Sinn Feiners, although neither of them will be likely to win in the contest. I say the real issue lies between them, because the aims of

the Nationalists are ultimately the same as those of the Sinn Feiners. While this party has been willing to take all that it could get, and has agitated for Home Rule in the halls of Westminster, no one has supposed that Ireland would be pacified when it was granted. If such had been the case it might have been had long ago. But the securing of Home Rule would have been nothing but a signal for the renewal of the agitation, this time directed at a complete break. Hence the Sinn Fein contingent drive directly at the thing which the Nationalists ultimately desire. One of the most acute analysts of Ireland has recently written: "I believe that nothing short of complete self-government has ever been the object of Irish Nationalism. However ready certain sections have been to accept installments, no Irish political leader ever had authority to pledge his countrymen to accept a half measure as a final settlement of the Irish claim. The Home Rule act, if put into operation to-morrow, even if Ulster were cajoled or coerced into accepting it, would not be regarded by the Irish Nationalists as a final settlement, no matter what may be said at Westminster. Nowhere in Ireland has it been accepted as final. Received without enthusiasm at first, every year which has passed since the bill was introduced has seen the system of self-government formulated there subjected to more acute and hostile criticism: and I believe it would be perfectly accurate to say that its passing to-morrow would only be the preliminary for another agitation, made fiercer by the unrest of the world, where revolutions and the upsetting of dynasties

are in the air, and where the claims of nationalities no more ancient than the Irish, like the Poles, the Finns, and the Arabs, to political freedom are admitted by the spokesmen of the great powers, Great Britain included, or are already conceded." (A. E.: "Thoughts for A Convention: Memorandum on the State of Ireland," 1917.)

The position of England is well known; she is willing for Ireland to have nearly anything that she wants, if the island can set her own house in order, settle her own internal troubles, and offer certainties that England and English people will not be threatened. But England is in a strained and unenviable position. Ireland is a constant menace to her, in this war, in every war, and even in times of peace. Far better would it be to throw Ireland to the winds and let her take care of herself. But this cannot be done, because England is in duty bound to protect herself from the intrigues of a free Ireland, and also to protect English people in Ireland from oppression and destruction at the hands of the so-called native Irish. So the Irish Question is in all reality an Irish Question. It is an internal problem which the people themselves must work out.

Of course the difficulty they will encounter will be Ulster. It seems somewhat strange that the most enlightened and prosperous part of Ireland should be the very section wherein is contained the most determined and bitter opposition to Irish freedom. But it is easy to understand when we have even the most casual acquaintance with the history of Ulster and the mind of

the Ulster people. They are called Irishmen, but they have practically no Irish blood in their veins; they are the descendants of the British colonists who were sent into Ireland to occupy the land under James and Cromwell. At the accession of James the land of Ulster was desolate, inhabited by a low Irish peasantry and owned by the great earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the O'Neill and O'Donnell chieftains. After a rebellion in which they joined forces with the Spanish, the earls were forced to flee and their lands were forfeited to the Crown. James then conceived the idea of the Plantation of Ulster with border people from England, hoping to settle the border feuds in his own country and at the same time to introduce order and prosperity into northern Ireland. Other plantations had been attempted in Ireland and they had all failed, but to James it appeared that these failures had been due to the fact that the colonists had intermarried with the natives and thus been absorbed. His idea was to transplant a sturdier people and to send their women with them to prevent intermarriage. Thus were the Protestants sent, whether or no, to Ireland. The scheme of James worked, the presence of the English women and the barrier of religion preventing intermarriage, and under the industry of these settlers Ulster began to blossom and to bear fruit.

All went well until the fateful year of 1641, when the Irish Catholics rose at a signal and began the systematic butchery of the Protestants, and the massacre was followed by a civil war that continued twelve years. His-

torians have exhausted the powers of language in their attempts to depict the horrible cruelties of these wanton murders. Men, women, and children were drowned, burned, ripped open, and killed in every conceivable way in this attempt to exterminate the foreigners, and in the massacre and the war that followed it has been estimated that no less than 200,000 Protestants lost their lives. And thus the plantation of James failed. The rebellion was put down by Cromwell, who went about the task in his customary energetic way; in this he earned the never-dying hatred of the Irish, but it is likely that the measures of Cromwell were excusable according to the tenets of warfare then existing, and even mild and generous in the case of non-combatants. Cromwell saw that the English colonists would always be in danger as long as the sullen Irish remained in the province, so he banished them across the Shannon and divided the land among his soldiers. This is the basis of the Irish grievance, and the reason why "the curse o' Crummel" is remembered to this day: the lands were then safely in the possession of the foreigners.

Then began the midnight prowlings of the Rapparees, a proceeding for which the island is famous. Organized bands of cattle drivers and moonlight prowlers, the Rapparees, the Houghers, the White-Boys, the Right-Boys, the Defenders, the Molly Maguires, the Ribbonmen, the Moonlighters, the Land-Leaguers, and others, appeared to carry on systematic outrages against the fields, crops, stock, and persons of the settlers. Under the reign of the last of the Stuarts the Protestants were disarmed and

excluded from the army, thus placing them at the mercy of their foes. James II fled to Ireland and civil war broke out under his standard, but this was brought to an end by William of Orange, who was supported by the Protestants. In 1798 another rebellion started under the leadership of the United Irishmen. This League had started some years before as a non-sectarian movement and some Protestants were connected with it, but it was soon discovered that the United Irishmen were the supporters of the prowling Defenders and the Protestants scented danger. When the rebellion began it soon developed into a Catholic war on the Protestants, and the cruelties and massacres perpetrated on the settlers outdid those of the days of 1641. They were impaled on pikes, roasted before slow fires, and tortured in many ways. It was from this war that the Orange Lodge and a defensive organization called the "Peep o' Day Boys" took their rise.

Thus is indicated the historical basis of the Irish Question as it concerns Ulster. The antagonism of the Irish is based upon the fact that there are some thousands of foreign people in possession of land which three hundred years ago belonged to their fathers, and back of most of the agitation lies the desire to repossess this land. Generation after generation hand down the tradition, and they publish maps showing the fertile fields of Ulster parceled out among the old families. Never have they regarded the settlers in any other light than that of usurpers; never have they conceded their right to the lands of Ulster. Lord Ernest Hamilton, formerly ■

Member of Parliament from North Tyrone, a man who for years was in the center of the political life of Ireland, has thus stated the case from the standpoint of Ulster. "The only attraction of Home Rule to the inner soul of the Irish (especially in Ulster) is the hope that it will provide the machinery by which the British colonists can be got rid of and Irish soil revert once more to the Irish. In Ulster the cry of 'Ireland for the Irish' is not the mere innocent expression of a laudable patriotism; it has a deeper and a far more sinister meaning. It means the expulsion from Ireland of the Protestant colonists, and it is so understood clearly by both sections of the population. There are no sentimental illusions in Ulster, whatever there may be in England. Home Rule holds out to the native Irish a coveted and substantial prize which lies under their very hands to pluck, and which faces them enticingly at every turn of their daily labor. Half the lands of Ulster, and that the best and the richest, are in the hands of the stranger within the gates. It matters nothing that these lands, when originally granted, were waste, and that the industry of the colonists has made them rich. It matters nothing that Ulster was then a sink of murder, misery, and vice, and that now it is a land of smiling prosperity. The natives know none of these things; they are not politically educated along these lines. All they know is that the lands were once theirs, and that they are now occupied by colonists of another race and another religion. And so they cry, or, rather, they mutter under their breath, 'Ireland for the Irish,' a cry which, under the ex-



CORNER OF SACKVILLE STREET IN DUBLIN AFTER THE
SINN FEIN REBELLION OF 1916



WRECKED SHOPS IN DUBLIN AFTER THE SINN FEIN
REBELLION OF 1916

panding influence of J. Kinahan, becomes freely translated into 'to hell or to the sea with every bloody Protestant.' There is not a Roman Catholic in Ulster to whom the promise of Home Rule does not mean the promise of the recovery of forfeited lands. In some districts the lands of the Protestant farmers have already been officially allotted among the native population." ("The Soul of Ulster," 112, 117, 120-121.)

As early as 1793 a Dr. Duigenan, who had been reared a Catholic but who adopted Protestantism in manhood, pointed out this phase of the question in an address before the Irish Parliament. "The Irish Catholics," he said, "to a man esteem all Protestants as usurpers of their estates. To this day they settle those estates on the marriage of their sons and daughters. They have accurate maps of them. They have lately published in Dublin a map of this kingdom cantoned out among the old proprietors. They abhor all Protestants and all Englishmen as plunderers and oppressors, exclusive of their detestation of them as heretics."

So the situation stands to-day. Behind both race and religion there lies the fact that the settlers are in possession of lands that once belonged to the Irish, and the deepest conviction of the Irish soul is that these lands should be restored. This means the expulsion of the English from Ireland. It is possible to work up a vast deal of sympathy for the Irish claim, when we remember how the lands came into English hands. But with all this, it is impossible to think that dispossession of the settlers would be either just or beneficial. It is unde-

niable that these settlers have made out of land once waste a province surpassing anything in southern Ireland for fruitfulness, and have built up in Ulster a system of commerce upon which all Ireland depends for revenue. It is therefore apparent that the restitution of this section to the natives would work to the disadvantage of the country.

Then, entirely apart from the ethics of the plantations, it must not be forgotten that no one of the English, and none of their ancestors remembered by them, were concerned. For three hundred years they have been in undisputed possession, and even at the time the natives were dispossessed the will of the settlers themselves did not dictate governmental action. So however unjust the original settlement may have been, dispossession at this late day would be a thousand times more unjust. Furthermore, according to the codes of that day, and it is unallowable to judge on the basis of any other code, the plantations were perfectly legal. The lands were declared confiscate on account of rebellion, the people were banished beyond the Shannon for the same reason, and all of the cruelties of which they so bitterly complain were thus caused.

But this phase of the question carries us into the whole range of the morality of colonization, and this concerns practically the entire earth. Would it be right for the American Indians to insist upon a restitution of the land and the expulsion of the people who now occupy them? If we grant the contention of the native Irish the principle should be carried further. Give

England back to the Welsh and expel France from Algiers, Canadians from Canada, and all European nations from India and Africa! This would be the proper course of procedure to accompany the expulsion of the settlers from Ireland.

This, then, explains the opposition of Ulster to Home Rule, an opposition that is stern, unbending, and uncompromising. It will go to the full length. When the Home Rule bill which now stands on the statute books was enacted into law in 1914, Ulster announced her intention to fight, and she made ready her instruments of warfare. The operation of the law was suspended in view of this attitude. And a great injustice is done to the best citizenship of Ireland when people do not remember that she opposes, not Home Rule, but the consequences of expulsion, robbery, murder, and oppression, which she believes would inevitably follow. She deems it not very unreasonable to suppose and believe that what the Irish people have done before they will do again.

That Home Rule would give an opportunity for such injustice, even with all conceivable safeguards, is very true. There would be no more open murders, and perhaps no openly adverse legislation. But the offices would be filled with the hostile element, injustices would creep into the taxation, prowlings and rapine would be continued, juries would be sympathetic, and even legislative and judicial bodies might take cognizance of the natives' plea that they were entitled to the lands of the north. All this is a possibility under Home Rule, and Ulster thinks she possesses enough knowledge of the native char-

acter to know that such opportunities are never lost. And so the deadlock stands. If England should stand apart and allow the Irish to fight it out, Ulster could never be conquered. She stands ready at any time, with her facilities, to defeat three times her own number of natives. And a self-governing Ireland without Ulster cannot support herself, for the north possesses all the wealth of the island. This lends support to the Ulster side, for in spite of the doctrine of majority rule, there is ground for objection when the south expects the north to pay all the bills while the south, with all her hostility, runs the country. "What," asks Ulster, "if the Red Indians outnumbered the Canadians five to two and the government should be placed in their hands?"

The venom recoils on the head of England, but she is in no way to blame. She has long stood ready to make any concession to Ireland when the people settled their own differences and made known their desires. But she cannot permit her own people to be dispossessed and destroyed, nor can she permit a Republic to be set up by her side which would harbor enemy agents and become the hot-bed of intrigue against her; the action of the Irish in every war the Motherland has ever waged makes England exceedingly and justifiably wary in this regard. In the meanwhile, she has gone to the most unusual length in her attempts to pacify the unpacifiable people. Realizing that the landlord system was making against the people, she arbitrarily and forcibly dispossessed the landlords through a series of land laws, and now the land has passed largely into the hands of the

people themselves. If any Irishman aspires to become a landowner, the way is open to him. England will loan him all the money to make the purchase, she will compel the landlord to sell at a reasonable figure, and she will allow the native half a century to return the money at an insignificant rate of interest. If the native is a laborer and does not desire a farm, he is at no disadvantage. For England will take a selected piece of ground, build upon it an elegant and adequate cottage, and let the cottage to the laborer for a rent that is a mere pittance. I do not know of any other people who are so treated. But these measures on the part of England meet with no gratitude from the Irish; "what virtue is there," they ask, "in paying back in installments what was originally stolen *en bloc*?"

The impartial observer will very likely believe that there is no salvation apart from the British Empire for the Irish. Ulster will never agree to cast her lot with such a Republic as the extreme Sinn Feiners propose, and they cannot compel the northern province. And without her no Republic can support itself. This is recognized, and the Sinn Fein faction go to the unusual length of demanding that England repay their treason and intrigues by setting them up as a Republic and at the same time making them an allowance large enough to pay their bills—this, they claim, is what England owes to Ireland. At the present time this faction will accept nothing less. When England proposed the convention of all the Irish for the purpose of arriving at a solution of their own differences, the Sinn Feiners held

back and refused their coöperation, thus placing themselves in the position of obstructionists. It is difficult to believe that the Irish could really govern themselves on the Emerald Isle; it is quite certain they could not, either in finances or in peaceable administration, if Ulster held back.

Sinn Fein should modify its demands and Ulster should modify hers, thus finding a basis of settlement on the Home Rule platform. Guarantees of the most sincere and liberal kind must be thrown about Ulster, and the connection with Great Britain must be retained. This is not only true for the purpose of securing the allegiance of the northern province, but also for the protection of Ireland herself. A weak and struggling Republic, bordering the coast of England, has no chance in these days in Europe. Her desire is to place herself under the protection of Germany, but in this she would be out of the frying pan into the fire, to say nothing of the menace this would afford to England. An Ireland with the status of a dominion, enjoying a degree of Home Rule that will protect her Protestant inhabitants, seems to be the solution of the problem until both sides grow into a more lenient attitude.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POPE AND THE WAR

The Pope of Rome is more deeply interested in the external facts of the European war than the head of any other ecclesiastical organization, and the war naturally affects the communion of which he is the head more vitally than any other Church. This is true because of the nature, the claims, and the historical attitude of the Roman Catholicism. It once possessed temporal power greater than that of national rulers, and one of its fundamental tenets is that the Church, being the direct representative of God on earth, has a right to exercise external authority of various kinds. This principle not only applies to the affairs of state, perhaps we may say that in this field it urges its claim with less insistence than elsewhere; but in the matter of morals, theology, interpretation, and even history it insists upon a recognition of this authority. Protestants generally disapprove of such a claim, but there is something to be said for it nevertheless. The point here to be made, however, is that such an attitude inevitably gives the Pope, as the head of his Church, an interest in the diplomatic affairs of all peoples, and when these affairs issue in war that interest is very much intensified. And if,

as in the present instance, nations which recognize officially the claims of the Pope are pitted against each other, the interest becomes so vital that it could not possibly be ignored. And so the Roman Catholic Church had a concern in the war that went far beyond the purely moral and spiritual interest which all communions shared in common. She is supposed to exert an influence in its settlement that is different in kind from the influence of other Churches—the logic of her historical position makes this necessary.

Accordingly, we have had many evidences that the war has been the subject of deep consideration on the part of the Vatican. The Pope has even gone beyond the defined attitude of the Church, and he has announced that he regards all the belligerents as his children and himself as the common father, irrespective of the affiliations adopted by these people and their governments—even though they are “not yet” Catholics, he puts it. Many times he has issued prayers, addresses, and appeals to the belligerent nations, urging peace. He made a strenuous effort to secure a Christmas truce, and as a matter of fact such an armistice was quite generally observed by the armies, although it was not accepted by the authorities; we are told by the soldiers themselves that at Christmas they sang across “No Man’s Land” from trench to trench, exchanged cigarettes and delicacies, and fraternized quite freely and generally. Then the Pope exerted a very great influence in securing the exchange of prisoners who were incapacitated for military service, in having thousands of prisoners trans-

ferred to Switzerland, where they received much better treatment and attention, and in securing commutation of sentences and pardons for a large number of condemned persons. There is no doubt that in these matters the Pope was able to exert an influence for great good; he strengthened himself with a large element, and as far as he was able to go he really earned the gratitude of mankind.

The Vatican therefore believes that it has added very much to its prestige during the war. Both England and Russia sent ministers of state to Rome accredited to the Vatican, which action is taken by the Church to mean that these countries are coming to recognize the authority of the Pope. But this is a mistaken idea. So far as England, at least, is concerned the action was taken solely because the representatives of the Central Powers were constantly in touch with the Pope, and England felt it necessary to have a representative on the ground to prevent possible intrigues. So these ambassadors are little better than secret service agents of the governments accrediting them, and instead of indicating a kindlier feeling towards the Church they really signify a suspicion that is the very reverse of kindness.

The simple truth is that the Pope is everywhere considered pro-German. His enemies constantly accuse him of having been in league with the Central Powers. In the first place, there is the fact that Austria was the greatest Catholic nation on earth, and the relations between the Vatican and Vienna are well known. It is impossible that the Pope should look with compla-

cence upon the prospect of seeing Austria crushed, for if there still remained a hope of regaining temporal supremacy or of securing another group of papal states, such a hope was undoubtedly closely bound up with the success of Austria. And that meant nothing but the triumph of Germany.

In the second place, the Pope has been subjected to a vast deal of criticism because of his refusal, or failure, to denounce the invasion of Belgium and the outrages consequent upon such invasion. In view of the fact that Belgium was one of the countries still loyal to the papacy, some such action was expected; and when it failed to materialize an idea prevailed that the silence was due to the fact that such a protest would have been a denunciation of the Central Powers.

Again, there are those who believe that the Church cherishes a deep resentment against France, once her favorite child, for having cast off the establishment some years ago, and that she would not have been averse to seeing France humiliated, especially if such humiliation were accompanied by advantages accruing to Austria. This is strenuously denied by Catholics; they declare that France is still the favorite daughter of the Vatican in spite of her defection. But as a matter of fact, it is plain to be seen that there is a deep gulf between France and Rome. France was the last nation to express any gratitude to the Pope for his services in the transfer of prisoners, and her reticence has been much commented upon. Then France is the only nation that does not exempt priests from military service; thousands

of them were conscripted and fought in the trenches. While this action indicated a lack of consideration on the part of the government towards the Church, it has really been of great advantage to the Church. While in the other allied countries there is wide spread dissatisfaction because of the exemption of the clergy, which has lost to them much respect and prestige, the French priests have gained immeasurably in the opinions of the people because of their experience in the trenches.

In addition to this alleged sentiment towards France, there exists the fact that the Vatican has no reason to ally herself closely to England. Here she gets no hope of a recognition of temporal authority. The actions of the priests in Ireland, and the disloyalty of the Catholic population in this island generally, have angered and exasperated England to such an extent that there is a deep prejudice against the Church which reaches even through the colonies of the British Empire. Then there is the further fact that the Pope is not on good terms with Italy, and Italy is not on good terms with the Pope. The Church regards the state as having usurped the authority and stolen the territory of the Pope, and the fiction of "the prisoner of the Vatican" keeps alive this attitude. All of these things naturally contribute to the feeling that the Pope desired the defeat of the allied cause.

On the other hand, it is asserted that certain interests and hopes bound the Church to the cause of the Central Powers. Austria was, of course, the strongest bond of attachment. But the Vatican was said to have

had interests in Germany also. It is quite true that this is the home of the Reformation and the anathematized Lutheranism; but Germany has a large Catholic element in her population, and this element exerts a considerable influence. Several of the states are Catholic and continue relations with Rome. And the Center Party is wholly Catholic. So even in Germany the Pope had a basis for hope, according to those who have conjectures upon such matters.

Then again, the incident of Mgr. Gerlach's conviction contributed still more to the belief that Benedict XV is pro-German. Gerlach, although a German and a former officer in the German army, enjoyed the confidence and patronage of the Pope in a remarkable degree, and the Pope appointed him "*Cameriere segreto partecipante*" and Keeper of the Wardrobe. Suspicion fell upon him because of his connection with the Prussian agents in Rome, but even after Italy entered the war he was kept in his position in the Vatican. It later developed that Gerlach had taken charge of the German espionage system; he disbursed German money, subsidized the press, and managed the entire work of propaganda and spying. Although he was sentenced to death by the government, the priest made his escape into Germany. There is no evidence that his holiness was in any way concerned in the matter, but the mere fact that a traitor should be found among the papal officials, and that such a man was retained in office after Italy had declared war against his government, gave the enemies of the Vatican a chance to make capital against it.

Even the attempts of the Pope to secure peace were used against him by those who sought to convict him of being pro-German. It is well known that all of the peace offers came from the side of the Central allies, and when the voice of the Vatican was lifted it was considered to be a voice from the same side. And that is one reason so little attention was paid to such proposals looking to peace: they were considered by the Allies exactly as if they emanated from the enemy; while this was not the official attitude, of course, it was the attitude of the people at large, and the one under which the governments were supposed to move. This attitude was strengthened when the Pope put forth his definite peace program, for that was a proposition which Germany could have well afforded to accept. While it refused to Germany the annexations and indemnities which she hoped to gain, it must be remembered that she had already practically despaired of ever obtaining her ambitions; and even a return to the status quo ante bellum would still have left Germany dominating Central Europe through her alliances, as President Wilson pointed out, and this would have been a practical victory for her.

There were several points in the Pope's proposal which could hardly have been accepted by the Allies. In the first place, it provided that Belgium should be evacuated and guaranteed independence—nothing more. Now that was exactly the case with Belgium before she was outraged, and this proposal made no provision for a guarantee on the part of Germany that such inde-

pendence should be respected other than the Teutonic word of honor. Belgium had that word of honor, ratified by a solemn treaty, before this war began, and Germany declared it to be "a scrap of paper." So when nothing was offered to Belgium except another treaty of the same sort, it was plain to see that she could only reject it. There was no security in it, to say nothing of the injustice of having Germany simply evacuate after destroying Belgian property and life.

In the second place, the proposal was voided by its treatment of the problems of Alsace-Lorraine and the Italian Irredenta. These territories, because of history, nationality, and the desires of the people, should have been taken from Germany and Austria, and it was clearly no settlement of the questions to suggest "peaceable negotiation." If that would have sufficed, a settlement might have been effected years ago.

In the third place, the very phrase "freedom of the seas" has a German sound. For what can this mean? Germany has always had freedom of the seas so far as her commerce and legitimate pursuits are concerned. She has been restricted on the seas only in the matter of attacking England. The European arrangement has, of course, been for Germany to maintain supremacy on the land while England maintained supremacy on the sea, an arrangement entirely equitable owing to the character of the two nations. But since the Franco-Prussian war Germany has insisted upon being supreme upon both land and sea, a program which, of course, was aimed at England. It was this unreasonable demand upon the

part of Germany, that she dominate both sea and land, which nullified The Hague conferences and brought to nothing the repeated attempts on the part of England to secure a limitation of armaments.

So to Germany the freedom of the seas means nothing except that she be allowed such domination, since she has always had freedom of every other sort. And when this suspicious phrase was discovered in the proposal of the Pope, it caused suspicion instantly.


These fundamental defects were reënforced by many others. For example, why speak of disarmament without setting up some form of authority, in view of the historical facts that Germany has always rejected England's attempts to secure a limitation, that she has nullified every Hague conference that has been held, and that she even refused to enter into peace treaties, which had been signed by all other nations? No acceptance of such a proposal could change the German attitude or government, and hence autocracy would only be perpetuated by its acceptance. In dealing with a power which refused point-blank to declare that it would respect its own treaty, and which later declared it to be a mere "scrap of paper," it is plain that something more substantial than agreements made with the same parties must be a condition of any lasting peace.

Now all of these things have been taken by the Allies to show that the Pope was not at heart really favorable to their cause, and his enemies have not failed to turn every scrap of evidence against him. It is for


this reason that any peace proposal which emanated from the Vatican was regarded with suspicion.

I have pointed out that the Pope was able to accomplish much good in the war by securing a transfer of prisoners and other concessions. But in spite of what he has done, the chances are all in favor of a further decline of his influence. There is a widespread dissatisfaction with the Church, and in Italy and France it is naturally directed against the Roman Catholic Church, just as in England it is against the Anglicans. As a matter of fact, Rome, in spite of her relation to the Church, is perhaps the most anti-papal city of Europe. Here one may hear more outspoken protests against the Vatican than anywhere else—than in France, for example, where her influence has just been shaken off and where she is regarded with great suspicion and reticence. This opposition is found in all ranks of society, from ministers of state down to waiters and carriage drivers. I was told by many people in Rome that the body of the late Pope could not be removed from its temporary tomb in St. Peter's to its final resting place in St. John Lateran because the Church feared a hostile demonstration on the part of the people.


This attitude is toward the Church as an institution rather than against the Roman Catholic religion. Indeed, the very people who adopt it are good Catholics and may be seen regularly at worship in the Churches. The hostility is against the temporal pretensions of the Vatican, and in this direction it is quite intense. Comparatively few communicants of the Church are mem-




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HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LOGUE
Archbishop of Armagh
and Primate of all Ireland




CARDINAL DE VALERAPUP
representing Sinn Fein



ARTHUR GRIFFITH
representing Sinn Fein



WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Dublin)
President Irish Trade Union Congress



M. EGAN, J.P., CORK

Ireland's

Solemn League and Covenant

A National Pledge

Denying the right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country, we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist Conscription by the most effective means at our disposal.


The above was signed by me

AT _____


on _____ day of _____ 1918.

Name _____


Address _____




JOHN DILLON M.P.
representing Irish Parliamentary Party




JOSEPH DEVLIN M.P.
representing Irish Parliamentary Party




WILLIAM O'BRIEN M.P.
representing All for Ireland League



T.M. HEALY M.P.
representing All for Ireland League



THE RIGHT HON. LAURENCE O'NEILL
THE LORD MAYOR
and President of the Mansion House Committee
Ireland's Envoy to Washington



MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN
Where the Conference assembled.

J. J. G. KELLY, DEL.

bers of the Clerical party, which is the instrument through which these temporal aspirations and agitations are kept alive. To the mass of the people the "Legge delle Garantigie," the Law of Guarantees, by which Italy pledged herself to support, protect, and honor the Popes so long as they made Rome their home, is entirely satisfactory and they would by no means suffer its repeal. But the Vatican steadily opposes this law and its party insists upon a recognition of temporal power; therefore the sum set aside for papal support has never been drawn and the Pope considers himself a prisoner, although the inconsistency of accepting the Vatican, Lateran palace, the villa at Castel Gandolfo, and protection for conclaves and assemblies is practiced. And recently the antagonism between the Vatican and the government has been made more acute on account of the protests of the Pope against being subjected to delays and restraints, especially in the matter of messages and couriers, which are imposed upon all persons, even governmental officials, by military regulations. There was also a complaint that the diplomatic representatives of Germany and Austria accredited to the Holy See had been forced to leave Rome, although this is vigorously denied by the government.

In all of these political movements, the Church is sadly injuring her own cause and is gradually alienating her own people. In every issue the masses take the side of the state and the breach between them and the Church is thereby widened. But this does not mean that Protestantism is growing accordingly. Protestantism seldom

makes any advances as the result of agitation against or dissatisfaction with Romanism; this agitation usually has a political basis, and if it succeeds in alienating any persons from Rome it usually embitters them also against all other Churches. Protestantism is tolerably influential in Italy and is respected; it carries on a missionary and educational activity that is of great value. But aside from the Waldensians, it does its best work among the foreign population. Atheism is growing far more rapidly than Protestantism, if we can trust the statistics. These show that there are only 123,253 Protestants in Italy, while the avowed Atheists number 874,532. There are 563,404 persons who refuse to state their religious preferences, and these are claimed by all sides: the Catholics declare they are Romanists who depend for employment upon the Socialists, while on the other hand it is declared that they are Weak-kneed Protestants who fear the Catholic majority. When it is remembered that the outspoken Catholics number 33,000,000, it is easy to see that Protestantism has made small progress.

The work of Protestantism in Italy is now mainly a testing of the open Bible theory through a wonderful distribution of copies of the New Testament to the soldiers and the people generally. The various foreign and local Bible societies have recently given away a million copies of the Scriptures, many of them very elegant editions with copious notes and explanations, and this work is proceeding with much system and rapidity. At first this activity met with stern resistance on the part of the

Roman clergy, and they caused the government to challenge the Protestants to show cause why it should not be stopped, at least so far as the armies were concerned. Fortunately, the societies were able to prove that the people were demanding the Scriptures by showing thousands of letters, mostly from soldiers, expressing gratitude for the Testament, requesting one, or asking that a copy be sent to wives. Such evidence was so overwhelming that the Protestants were allowed to proceed with their work. And it also forced the Catholics to make some concessions and to issue a version of the Scriptures themselves. But the people prefer the other version and regard the Catholic with suspicion, and the fact of its being issued has given them a greater liberty in accepting what is offered to them from the other side.

The Protestants have always considered this to be a fundamental work of propaganda. This faith has contended that the open Bible is its main support, and that only a free acquaintance with it is necessary to secure the conversion of the people. If this be true, then it stands to reap great results from such a general distribution. But wholly aside from the possibility or desirability of such results, there can be little doubt that the movement will issue in great good educationally. And it is already causing a reaction upon Catholicism which will make that faith more liberal, and this will also be great gain. In justice to the distributors it should be said that they are not actuated by any proselyting motives, but are carrying on their work purely for benevolent reasons; the leading spirits among them are men

whose Churches have no missions in Italy. One can hardly forecast the future of Protestantism as a result of this activity; but at any rate it will put to an adequate test the doctrine that the Bible in the hands of the people will eventually mean their acceptance of a more spiritual type of religion.

The nature of the Protestant religion which prevails in Italy is that of a moderate orthodoxy, a brand which is not up to the liberal ideas of America and England but which does not go in for the fantastic notions of medieval orthodoxy, like pre-millenarianism, for example, which we sometimes find in these countries. The faith is very uncritical and unscientific, for the modern historical spirit has not yet reached Italy. When this spirit does begin to affect the religious life it will make an immediate difference, but from a purely pragmatic and practical standpoint it is doubtful whether this difference will immediately redound to the advantage of religion. On the contrary, it may drive the uninformed orthodox back to Catholicism, which cannot be expected to change. And to some it may seem like a concession to rationalism.

Conditions in Italy are remarkably like they were in America during the days of Ingersoll, who based his entire propaganda upon an idea of the Bible which has since been entirely corrected by historical scholarship. Ingersoll would have no message in America to-day, but in Italy he would be a power of destruction against the Church. To-day the Italian rationalists are carrying on the same kind of agitation, seizing and

turning against religion the contradictions, the imperfect morality, and the differing ideas of the Bible. The historical spirit, with its doctrines of the gradualness of revelation, dynamic inspiration, and composite character of the Bible, will utterly destroy all this as a basis for the rejection of religion, but it will require some time for these ideas to take hold upon the consciousness of the people. At first, as in America, it will seem like conceding all the claims of rationalism; and the opposition with which it will be met by the clergy will lend countenance to this view. This has been the effect of such short-sighted opposition the world over. Yet nothing can stop this spirit, since it expresses fundamental truth. And in opposing it the clergy have always been the real enemies of the Bible and of the religion founded upon it; they have despised the greatest apologetic value of all time, after all other apologetics have lost their force.

So from this standpoint one may question whether there be not ground for the Catholic contention that it is dangerous to place the open Bible in the hands of the people. It is indeed dangerous if we are to place it before them and at the same time involve them in the old doctrines of verbal inspiration and literalness. For this will mean a repetition of the sad history of the last few years. They will get a view of it which cannot stand the light of criticism, and when the principles of criticism begin to dawn upon them they will think their Bible is gone, nevermore to be trusted. They will be under the necessity of either holding to their literal notions

and rejecting science and history, or of accepting the tenets of scholarship and giving up their ideas about the Bible—and this latter course, for the common man, will likely mean giving up his Bible in more cases than otherwise. Therefore, one of the most urgent needs in the religious world is for a general and popular educational movement which will clarify the ideas of the people as to the nature of the Bible, its contents, and its inspiration. Otherwise the people must continue to fight rationalism with broken blades.

So far as the Roman Catholic Church itself is concerned, we may be quite sure that she will survive. Macaulay said that this Church would be living when a New Zealander stood upon a broken arch of the London Bridge and sketched the ruins of St. Paul's, and Tyrrel remarked that when she dies other faiths may order their coffins. These comments state the case now. And yet, while it is unthinkable that Rome should perish, it is almost as certain that the world will not turn back to her communion. The Reformation laid hold upon the best blood and brain of the world, and from that time the drift away from Rome has been constant. This will never turn towards her again unless she makes changes that no man can safely prophesy she will ever make. Yet this is not to say that she is doomed; far from it. She has elements of strength which will enable her to survive, and elements of truth which make her salvation possible. It has recently been said that a man is a poor Christian who is not attracted by the worship of the Catholic Church. The beauty of her ritual, her

connection with the past, her wonderful possessions, and the steadiness with which she adheres to her traditional positions all make an appeal to us. But in spite of this, there are few non-Catholics who would prefer to become her communicants.

Yet the greatest opportunity in the realm of religion to-day is possessed by the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant divisions, lack of centralization, indefiniteness of doctrine, absence of authority, lax and lowering standards, laxity in government—all of these things contribute to the weakness of Protestantism. Yet in these same things lies the strength of Catholicism. Especially does her form of government add to her power, and the fidelity with which she has adhered to her doctrines cannot but command admiration, even from those who do not agree with her interpretations. It has been rightly said that Rome has added to the faith and has corrupted it, but she cannot be accused of having forsaken it. And so it seems plain that if Rome would consent to make the adaptations demanded by the spirit of the age, she would come into a new influence.

These adaptations would have to run the entire course of her life. In the very first place it would be necessary to renounce all the claims to temporal authority, to accept, and even to immensely modify, the Italian Law of Guarantees, to overthrow the meaningless fiction of the "prisoner of the Vatican," and to take her place in the world as a purely spiritual force. That action would have to be accompanied by a radical change of heart and attitude toward the entire question of scholarship, espe-

cially as it affects the Bible and the doctrines of the Church. This would mean the overthrow of the authority of the Church in matters of dogma, the upsetting of the entire range of traditions which are unsupported, the opening of the minds of all people to whatever light may be in the world, and the beginning of a new educational method among them. The world believes, no matter how strongly the Church may protest, that Rome deliberately keeps her people in ignorance in so far as she may; this belief stands on the basis of the historical fact that her religion is purest where she is comparatively weakest, and that education is not enhanced and furthered where she is in absolute control.

When such reconstructions have been made and the world is aware that Rome has entered upon a new policy which will concern itself wholly with the spiritual affairs of life, stands for progress in all matters of doctrine and knowledge, and places upon morality an importance which she has never stressed, then the strength of her organization, her fidelity, and the wonderful richness of her worship will assert itself with telling force. On that basis she can come into her own and dominate the world; on the present basis it is clear to be seen that she has no prospects other than continued opposition, the total destruction of her political ambitions, and a gradual and constant decline of influence.

But will Rome consent to make the adaptations? Of this there seems to be no hope. She has displayed a deplorable blindness to the ongoing of all the forces of civilization through the centuries, and this has been

her greatest handicap. It seems a little too much to expect that this war has opened her eyes. And this situation may well cause one interested in the religious welfare of the world to be sad. There is nothing over which such a person might so well weep. That the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the martyrs, the saints, and the fathers of our religion, the possessor of most of the art treasures of the world, the heir of all the sentiment and prestige which history can bestow upon any institution, should insist upon the crystallization and perpetuation of ideas derived from the middle ages and ignore the advances of the world, thereby bringing about her own impotence as a moral power on earth—this is a condition which even the most ardent Protestant must heartily regret.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN THE WAR

One would have expected that the great European war, as it spread death, devastation, and bereavement over the world, would have called the minds of the people to reality and to matters of eternity, thus bringing them around to religion. We have for centuries educated the people to rely upon religion in times of great crises, and we have been so successful in our tutoring that multitudes of them never rely upon it in any other times; in line with all the religious ideas which we have inculcated, the people should have flocked to the Churches when they heard the dread sound of the tocsin of war. This was what the religious world expected the people to do, and preparations were made for a sweeping revival of spirituality. Books were written for the purpose of outlining the situation from the religious viewpoint, and the Church made ready the forces of encouragement and conservation. During the first few months of the war all signs pointed to the fact that these expectations were to be abundantly fulfilled. The people flocked to the Churches in ever-increasing streams, they resorted to prayer with much constancy, and they gave all evidences of a quickening religious life. In

these months it appeared certain that a great revival was imminent.

But this early religious awakening was founded on fear, and fear is a motive that cannot long support an intelligent faith. Some years ago I had occasion to investigate the records of a little church which was located in the heart of the district devastated by the great New Madrid earthquake of 1812, and these ancient records showed that before the earthquake the church had but 27 members, immediately after it there were 165, and a year later the membership had shrunk to its original figure. Thus it has always been with religious fervor that sprang from fear, and thus it was during the first months of the great war. When the first fear and dread produced by the war had passed, when people were able to think calmly, and especially when the fervor of patriotism had caught them and avenues were opened through which their energies could be used for the comfort of the soldiers, the superficial religious sentiments passed also, much to the disappointment of those who had desired a renaissance of evangelism and spirituality.

Perhaps the fault was with these very people who most desired a religious awakening, for they utterly failed to adapt their message and their program to the needs of the time; they committed the blunder of believing that the same message which these people had spurned in times of peace would suffice to hold them in time of war. In this they were much mistaken, as the entire social and spiritual history of these warring times has shown conclusively. The religious leaders should

have known better; perhaps they did know better, but the crisis was upon them so suddenly that they were unable to make the necessary adaptations, showing that they had no real grasp on the entire problem of religion as it applies to life. At any rate, they should now know better than to attempt to hold the people after the war with the same old platitudes which the people had ignored before the war, and which they have tried and rejected during the war.

To-day the person traveling through the warring countries will certainly see no signs of a religious awakening; even the religious specialist who investigates intensively will not be able to discover them. In all of the cities vice is more rampant than ever, the people are as little concerned with eternal matters, and the Church faces the same problems of sin and indifference. Evil habits, such as cigarette smoking, liquor drinking, profanity, and sexual immorality, are steadily increasing and are enjoying a popularity which makes them difficult to denounce; as a result they are not denounced, even many chaplains palliating and excusing them to a large extent. By selecting detached instances of conversion, the workers encourage themselves to believe that religious sentiments are growing, but the general situation, and even their own observations and statistics, do not give foundations for their belief. I went to Europe for the purpose of making social and moral investigations, resolved to get the truth from all angles. I associated with the religious leaders and workers, with university professors and their students, with soldiers and

officers in the army, with governmental officials and the men on the street, endeavoring to avoid the common mistake of the theologians and preachers who look at facts from their own angle and leave out of account facts that do not come within their immediate range of interests. Such an investigation will surely reveal that the religious outlook in Europe is not bright, and that few people are trying to make it appear bright. All classes are fully aware that the world faces a crisis in her religious and moral life.

It is not that people are no longer religious. It is rather that they are confused in the face of all the facts with which religion is presumed to deal. They are confused, in the first place, in regard to the function and the efficacy of prayer. People never prayed so much as they did at the beginning of hostilities; people who had never prayed before resorted to the holy exercise then. But what did their prayers avail? The war went on and men were killed just the same. And there were no distinctions. The son of the man who prayed for the boy's safety day and night fell by the side of the lad whose friends recognized no God to whom they could pray. Agonizings meant nothing in the face of the scourge of war. Then there came the thought that both sides were praying for victory to the same God, both relying upon the same God to further their success. There were heathen alliances on both sides, and mingled with the petitions to God there were pleadings with various pagan deities. Yet none of them responded to the appeals of their followers. In the midst of it all there

was confusion and uncertainty. What, then, is the good of prayer? Who and where is God? Perhaps there is no God after all! Such doubtings affected people in all stations. "There's Bill," said the soldier, "'e prayed like 'ell and got 'is bloomin' 'ead blowed off."

The trouble with the people is not far to seek, of course, and a trained theologian might discover it at once. They had an antiquated doctrine of prayer. They understood that its primary function was to secure favors and things from God, that it has an objective effect by securing a special Providence for the elect who resort to it or have it resorted to for them. This is founded, of course, on a misconception of the nature of God and His dealing with men. "They think," says a chaplain, "that religion is mostly concerned with self-saving. They tend to recognize most easily the signs of God's favor in this or that instance of safety or escape." A soldier on the Somme, who had fallen on the field, gave to his chaplain a copy of the 91st Psalm, with the remark that it was his handbook. "Yet by itself," says the padre, "the 91st Psalm, though a wonderful expression of trust in God, promises a security to which our Lord, and others akin to Him in spirit, have not put their seal. He did not ask—He resisted the temptation to ask—that no evil should happen to Him, nor that angels should bear Him in their hands lest he should hurt His foot against a stone. He would not have men set their face in the day of battle in the assurance that, though a thousand should fall beside them and ten thousand at

their right hand, the same lot should not come nigh them."

The right minded person who resorted to prayer as a spiritual exercise, as communion with the Infinite, and for the purpose of securing its subjective benefits of comfort, hope, and strength encountered no such stress of heart in the emergency. And the theologian would want to inform all others that their difficulty was not with prayer but with a misconception of it. But it must be remembered that the people are holding the doctrine that has been taught them, and they have more right to abuse the theologian than the theologian has to abuse them. The lofty theory of prayer as communion conferring subjective benefits has not been understood by the rank and file; we can, in fact, say that it is not the doctrine of the Church. As Mr. H. G. Wells says, the doctrine of prayer as a process of begging God for special favors would not be admitted by the *Hibbert Journal*, but it is freely proclaimed by the parish leaflet; and the leaflet, rather than the *Hibbert Journal*, establishes the standard of ideas for the rank and file. This war has sufficed to destroy the faith of people in prayer as thus understood, and since the multitudes have difficulty in reaching a more spiritual understanding they have become involved in doubt and obscurity. From this confusion here there must issue a more spiritual type of faith, just as a spiritual religion must issue from similar confusions in other departments.

The prevailing state of intellectual confusion in regard to religion is caused further by the uncertainty as

to the exact status of Christianity at the present time. When the war broke out there was a wide-spread cry that Christianity had failed and been discredited, and since the fact of the war was directly opposed to the principles of our faith many people were not able to preserve their hope in the final triumph of the kingdom. The rationalist press, aided and abetted by the representatives of isms and cults of various kinds, labored assiduously to spread such doubts and to make the roar of the war serve as the requiem of our religion. As the war progressed the discontent with the Church began to spread and the clergy fell more and more into disrepute. All of this tended to fasten upon the minds of the people a fear or a belief that Christianity had finally broken down and would ultimately be discarded. This thought found lodgment in the breasts of some of the most devout people, and the ensuing confusion has worked much to the detriment of religion.

Perhaps the trouble here lies in the fact that we have no well-defined doctrine or conception of teleology. We do not know exactly where the world is going or where it ought to go. Even to-day most Christians have no understanding of the kingdom of God, its elements or the processes of its achievements. Premillenarians have taught that the world must go to hell before the kingdom comes; others have understood our gospel to be wholly personal and the kingdom to be a heaven in which saved persons are to be taken; still others have had visions of a social kingdom and have urged a social service activity of a superficial kind as the sum of all Christian ideals. But

neither school has worked out its doctrines into a systematic theology, or even given a program that could appeal to the religious needs of the world or of the individual life. The old theology set the standard for such uncertainty, for it failed to give its devotees a reasonable doctrine of teleology. It pictured a perfect world, then the fall of man and the world into sin, then a long process of coming back to perfection, then the end of the order. In this scheme there was no moral evolution, since the highest hope of the race was to get back to the point from which it started. It worked in a circle. So we really had no vital doctrine of teleology, and in this situation one can scarcely blame Bergson for making a philosophy and leaving it out altogether.

It is, indeed, a difficult task to harmonize the Christian doctrine of a coming social kingdom with our ideas of a Christian personal life. In fact, it cannot be done at all on the basis of the old ideas of authority and literal interpretation. The hearts of millions are thrilling today at the thought of a coming kingdom, and such people can behold the war as the leading factor in such a kingdom. The war will mean the destruction of autocracy and the enthronement of democracy, the reign of brotherhood and equality; it will mean a new world, a better civilization, a new appreciation of the spiritual ideas of freedom and justice, a better evaluation of man. No person has difficulty in thinking that the war will mean this. But nearly all of us have difficulty in believing that this is Christianity. In a dim sort of way we understand that Christ would be pleased to have such a

world, and that we will have gone a long way in the general direction of His social kingdom when this comes to pass. Yet we hesitate to proclaim that this awful war is Christ's method of ushering in His kingdom, and when one does have the courage to thus proclaim we are somewhat shocked even though we know he is telling the truth. Our trouble is that we are in a strait between the doctrine of a social kingdom and the doctrine of a personal life. We want to preserve both, yet we hesitate to make either supreme. In after years, when the horrors of this conflict have passed away and its benefits have been realized, perhaps we shall understand. Perhaps we shall then see that men are not so valuable as principles, and that great civilizing movements are worth what they cost. This is the doctrine of Christ. It was on this platform that He taught, lived, and died; His history will bear no other interpretation.

We must not confuse patriotism with Christianity nor make Christ an international politician; but we can believe that the kingdom will not come until the doctrines which were incarnate in the German Empire, doctrines of force, autocracy, ruthlessness, barbarism, have been eradicated once for all. And when these ideas take physical shape they can only be met physically. It involves us in contradictions, uncertainties, anxiety, and doubt, to be sure, but it is no time for Christians to be discouraged or to admit that their religion has been discredited.

Along the same line we meet the fact that the war has bred sentiments so different from religious sentiments

that these have added to the confusion and the discarding of religion. And here we are not able to make any defense or adjustment; we can simply plead the frailty of human flesh. The person who goes from a neutral country, or even from America at the present time, to any of the belligerent nations of Europe will be amazed at the hatred which flames everywhere. The Germans have not been the only ones to sing a "Hymn of Hate"; the French have done the same, and so have others, although they have not been so deliberate nor so frenzied in their hatred as the Germans. Racial antagonism of the most bitter type has overthrown all sentiments of brotherhood as they applied to other nations. Murder and blood are in the air. Immorality has become so flagrant that its very commonness has robbed it of its repulsion, and a general lowering of the moral tone has resulted. Liquor drinking, vulgarity, profanity, and sexual looseness are tolerated with the utmost complacency. "I never knew a chaplain," a soldier can write, "to refuse his drink, his cigarette, or to sit in a little game," and when a clergyman scatters "damns" through a book which he publishes no one thinks of complaining. These sentiments, and others like them, are not the sentiments of religion, yet they are the prevailing sentiments of the day. And religion suffers accordingly, for the people seem to understand that it is no time to attempt religion seriously, so far at least as its stricter morality is concerned.

They are quite aware that to be religious would mean that such sentiments were to be set aside, and even would

have to be opposed. Therefore they let religion go, since few are in a condition of mind to attempt a strenuous opposition. In fact, to be religious in Europe to-day seems to many people to imply a task too large to be attempted. One may well hesitate, for example, before he urges a solution of the problems raised by the scourge of immorality which has swept Europe. To be sure, to use chaste language, to refuse to gamble, to be a total abstainer from intoxicants, to keep the Sabbath, to pray night and morning, to protest wickedness—to do these things in the armies to-day would require as much courage as the martyrs possessed. It is too big a job to be religious, so religion can be set aside until after the war—this seems to be the attitude. And it is heightened by the fact that it seems to prevail in the minds of the religious leaders of the world. The Church preaches no vital morality to-day, and many of the chaplains in the army stand ready to palliate the moral delinquencies of the soldiers, to excuse and even defend them. And this has the double effect of confirming the men in their sins and at the same time causing them to lose respect for their religious leaders.

The religious situation among the soldiers themselves is perhaps more important than the general situation as it pertains to the churches, because of the number of men under arms and because their popularity will give them the power to shape the controlling ideas of the future. One cannot, of course, state the soldier's attitude toward religion in a word; it is undefinable and it varies with different men and in different situations. Speaking

very broadly, perhaps we may say that the average soldier neither knows nor cares much for religion. He "carries on" in accordance with his own desires and tastes. In a general way he is interested in the talks at the welfare hut, but if nothing were there but the talks he would not darken its door. He smokes and swears day in and day out, nor thinks his profanity an offense to God. When the time comes to "go out" he becomes very serious, reads his Testament, thinks of home, and prays; if he comes back alive his seriousness gives way and he "carries on" as usual. It is impossible for one who is interested in the future of religion, and who wants to see a revival of spirituality, to obtain much comfort from the religious attitude of the soldiers in the field to-day. Detached instances of faithfulness and conversion are, of course, recorded, but no general spirit of evangelism is evident.

There appears an attempt in some quarters to deny this, and to make out that this war has given great impetus to religion, but when one investigates these attempts he will soon see that it can be accomplished only by denaturing religion, separating it from morality, and making it synonymous with patriotism and courage. According to the most reliable statistics we have, only 20 per cent. of the men now under arms had any connection with the Church before the war, and half of the number have fallen away from their ideals and are not now classed as Christians.

In the name of religion a protest should be uttered against a prevalent charity and forbearance on the part

of clergymen which goes to the length of excusing sins. It is not necessary to be uncharitable or to underestimate the strength of temptation when one lives an unnatural life in order to hold to moral standards. The men who adopt such an attitude are the real enemies of religion, and they are failing to be the real friends of the boys. A distressing feature of our religious life for the last generation has been the fact that the Church has lowered her standards, and we will suffer immeasurably if we allow millions of men to return from the battle field with ideas that immorality does not matter much, that it is not condemned by those who speak for religion and the Church. Whatever happens to us, we must not forget that it is wrong to sin.

Allied to this error is a disposition on the part of these same religious leaders to make a religion out of elements that are not religious, at least that are not distinctly Christian. Thus we are told that the men are really religious, although they may not know it; they do not know much about God and Christ and spirituality, but they display superhuman courage, they are unselfish, they are cheerful, they are brotherly, they are patriots. These are admirable traits to be sure, and men will not be very religious without them, but their possession is compatible with the rankest infidelity and sinfulness. Sherwood Eddy says the men have five virtues—courage, brotherliness, generosity, straightforwardness, and cheerfulness—and five moral weaknesses—impurity, obscenity and profanity, drunkenness, gambling, and a lack of moral courage. Few people will really be-

lieve that there is much vital religion represented by the five virtues as long as the five vices exist. It must be remembered that there has never been a war, even among the worst pagans, when men did not display courage and patriotism, and the inevitable conclusion seems to be that no Christianity is needed to produce these things. And yet some of our modern chaplains make them the very essence of our religion; chaplains, so says Eddy, have widely preached the idea that death in battle saves. ("With Our Soldiers in France." Chap. vii.)

The following statement from a chaplain seems a frank and fair statement of the religious situation among the soldiers: "There is not a great revival of the Christian religion at the front. Deep in their hearts is a great trust and faith in God. It is an inarticulate faith expressed in deeds. The top levels, as it were, of their consciousness, are much filled with grumbling and foul language and physical occupations; but beneath lie deep spiritual springs, whence issue their cheerfulness, stubbornness, patience, generosity, humility, and willingness to suffer and to die. There is religion about; only, very often it is not the Christian religion. Rather it is natural religion. It is the expression of a craving for security. Literally it is a looking for salvation." Here is a situation which is charged with promise if it could be met fully and frankly. The first step should be to translate this natural religion into Christianity, for this so-called "natural religion" rife in our society to-day furnishes the animus of most of the attacks upon the Church and Christianity. It is everywhere issuing in

materialism, and if these soldiers return with this detached and undefined sentiment it will bode no good for our social order. It does not deserve the praise that is being heaped upon it.

The fact that it is not Christian is not really the fault of the men; rather is it the fault of those whom we have sent to be the religious guides of the men. They have lowered standards and been content with too little, thereby practicing a deception upon the men themselves. They come from the Church, but the men feel that the Church cares nothing for them, and while they revere Christ they identify the Christian Church with a respectability that is not unlike the Phariseeism that Christ denounced. The problem that is before us at the present time is to make the world understand that our religion, as the Church interprets it, comes from Christ—and this means that our interpretation must be changed. "I am sure," says a chaplain, "that the soldier has got religion, I am sure that he has Christianity; but he does not know he has Christianity." The task is to make him know he has Christianity, that our religion, stripped of the extraneous ideas we have wrapped about it, embodies all the things which he regards as high, holy, and noble. Our danger is that we will so lower our standards that our religion will be emasculated by its friends, that the soldiers will reject it, and that they will come back with their "natural religion," their religion that is not moral, and fasten upon us materialism, unbelief, and a shadowy semblance of idealism that goes under the name of spirituality and faith.

Religion will survive this war, but it may not be the same kind of religion we have had—and that may be a ground of hope. Men are learning that experiences come in which they cannot escape God, and never have they felt such a need of Him in the soul. And we have faith to believe that this religion will be the Christian religion. But reconstructions of the most radical sort will have to be made if we are to catch up in the breast of the Church the religious sentiments of humanity and use the Church to give them expression in the service of the race. It is too much to say at this time that the reconstructions can be easily made; we are not able at the present time to tell what will be demanded. The indications are not satisfactory, this we know. It seems likely that the new turn of religious affairs, the reconstructions necessary, will be opposed by the Church. It has opposed such changes before, and in so doing it has been its own worst enemy. Already it is being charged with getting ready to preach after the war the same old platitudes which it preached before the war. If it does this we may safely predict that the breach between itself and the people—already wide—will be broadened. Strong forces on the other side are striving for that very thing, seeking to make the people still more discontented with the Church, their hope being to establish this “natural religion,” with neither organization nor priesthood—with nothing but a “finite God.” But can this be done? What will happen to the religious and moral interests of society when it has no organization through which to express its faith in action,

and when its God has shrunk to the size of Mr. Wells' deity? The proceeding has always failed; it has always resulted in confusion, despair, ignorance, and crime. Our God must be bigger, not smaller. And, in some form or other, the Church must be preserved to heighten, to propagate, and to express the spiritual sentiments of the heart of humanity.

There has been a vast deal of speculation and theory expended on the matter of the soldier's attitude toward the Church and religion, and the learned conclusions have given great joy to the rationalists and anxiety to the Churchman. Most of the time and sentiment thus devoted might well have been spared if persons had borne in mind that the soldier is simply the average young man whom we have always known. The young man never was very religious and never had any close connection with the Church, and since donning his uniform he remains the same kind of person. Why should the Church be so concerned over his attitude to-day when she did not seem to care about him yesterday? Why does the rationalist cry out that the Church must die because the soldiers are not in its membership when the same fact afforded him no comfort when the soldier wore his "civies"? The Church is in no greater danger now from this source than she has always been; indeed the Church is much better established in this quarter, for although the war has not converted the soldier it has made him more appreciative of the real values in social life.

When a person returns to America after an experi-

ence with the American forces in the field he is at once subjected to a cross-examination concerning the morals and general behavior of the soldiers. He can tell in advance what the questions are to be: Are the men religious as they go under fire? Do they drink, gamble, swear, or practice immorality in the towns and villages? Are they becoming degenerates or will they return with higher moral conceptions than when they went away? These and similar questions are fired at one from all sides. Every social institution which we have seems planning for big things when the boys come home. The Church seems especially interested in their welfare at the present time. This is a thing which the men themselves seem unable to appreciate, for they are well aware that the Church took no extraordinary interest in them when they were at home in civilian life. But now that duty has called them and they have responded, when they are displaying a courage, a self-sacrifice, a devotion, and an unselfishness the like of which the world never knew before, the Church at once becomes extremely solicitous for their moral welfare. Now the American soldier is the wisest person imaginable. It is absolutely impossible to "fool" him about anything. He detects insincerity and camouflage instantly. He resents flattery in all its forms. He is alive to all that is going on about him, and woe unto that organization or institution which seeks to capitalize his influence or build upon him after the war. He has a passion for genuineness, he hates shams, he despises narrowness and littleness with his whole soul. Therefore, it might as

well be said very plainly that the newly-born interest of the religious forces of the country in the soldier will benefit said forces little unless it be coupled with a reconstruction of doctrine, message, methods, and life.

I think I can set forth in a few words the general character of the American soldier overseas, as compared with the young men we have always known at home. The man overseas is an inveterate cigarette smoker and the most profane individual to be found anywhere—this is the worst that can be said of him. In this regard he is much worse than he was at home, if we consider cigarette smoking and profanity as vices, or even as bad habits. But he does not drink very much, he is seldom seen under the influence of liquor, he gambles a little, and he does not indulge in sexual immorality to any large degree. In these details he is a better man than he was at home, better than the young man who is still in civilian life. This about sums up the situation. The soldier has little opportunity to commit sins other than those named; in fact those of the fighting armies have little chance to commit sins of any kind.

In regard to the profanity of the soldier, there is little to be said in defense of it. This is the most foolish and inexcusable of all bad habits which human flesh is heir to, but it is practically universal in our army. I have had a wide association with men of all the allied armies, and I say without hesitation that our men are the worst "cussers" in Europe. They swear without any provocation; in their ordinary conversation they punctuate their remarks with an elaborate and artistic array

of oaths. And they are teaching the French to use our American swear-words also; it is nothing unusual to hear little boys and little girls bandying these expressions about on the streets. On one occasion when a young lady inquired the meaning of a certain vulgar word the soldier, covered with embarrassment, informed her that it meant "very nice," the same as "tres jolie"; and the result was that the young lady applied it to a medical officer who had kindly bandaged her finger. One day a ministerial Y. M. C. A. secretary gave a small tip to a French barber and received in return a smile and a "Thank you, s—— —!" In a certain sector great strictness was being observed in regard to the pass word, and the report gained currency that the sentries had orders to fire without question on any person who did not immediately answer his challenge with the proper word. A young French lieutenant strayed out of his dug-out one night and was challenged by the soldier on guard. Instantly he remembered the situation and his blood froze within him at the prospect of instant death, for he was without the pass word, and he involuntarily ejaculated, "God damn." The sentry, who knew the man, was convulsed with laughter and said, "Pass, Lieutenant." Ever afterward the officer declared that he would use American oaths as long as he lived, because this expression had saved his life.

On my first visit to the war zones I heard the British chaplains and welfare workers excusing their men for swearing, and I believed that this attitude constituted a distinct lowering of their moral ideas, out of motives

of affection for the soldiers. But when I had lived intimately with the soldiers for several months I learned that in fact the habit did not argue any especial irreverence on the part of the men. The best of them do it; even those who are active in religious matters are accomplished "cussers." They are living under a mighty tension, they feel deeply, and they have powerful thoughts; nothing but the strongest language they can command is sufficient to express their sentiments. This, as nearly as I can determine, is the explanation of the prevalence of profanity. As hard as it may be for the average moralist to understand and appreciate the situation, it is nevertheless a fact that the soldier who swears so recklessly does not mean a word he says and has not the faintest idea of taking the name of the Deity in vain. For he loves and respects God, and has a powerful consciousness of His presence and power.

One evening I was conducting a religious service, and the men had flocked in by hundreds, as they always do when conditions permit an assembly. I had a quartette of men who were to sing some of the familiar hymns. A fervent atmosphere of spirituality pervaded the place when the men arose to sing. There was no musical instrument and the men, in pitching their voices, struck a scale altogether too low. They uttered a few words and then stopped suddenly, and the leader remarked, "O hell, that is too damned low!" The men seemed to take the remark as a matter of fact and it in no way spoiled the spirit of the occasion.

There was a sergeant in a certain company who was

unspeakably profane, and the chaplain had often declared his intention to "call down" the fellow. One day he was heard making the air blue behind the dug-out, and the chaplain seized the opportunity. But when he sought the sergeant's presence there was no opportunity at all. The man was cursing a soldier who had in his possession a package of obscene postal cards, bearing pictures of a vile sort. The sergeant, with an admirable string of oaths, was declaring that any soldier who would carry such pictures was a disgrace to the United States army, and in conclusion he took from his pocket a New Testament and remarked: "If you want to carry something why don't you get one of these damned Bibles; a man who carries one of these will never go far wrong." Naturally, the subject matter of his discourse disarmed the chaplain!

Those who for propaganda purposes or otherwise have been responsible for rumors to the effect that the American soldiers in France are becoming addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors have been most unjust to these men and have rendered the country a distinct disservice. While the motives of those concerned were no doubt legitimate, the circulation of these reports tended to demoralize our own spirit and to give aid and comfort to the enemy. From a close knowledge of the soldier in all the situations in which he ever finds himself, I can contradict the word of any man who accuses him of drunkenness. He does not drink to any appreciable degree; of the hundreds of thousands I have seen I can recall but three who showed any effects of drink. This

is not to say that he is a total abstainer; it is to say that he drinks far less over there than he did in civilian life at home. And the wines and beers that are used have been so "denatured" that they have little effect upon the drinker. The fighting forces at the front, officers and men, are forbidden to buy champagne, although they can purchase the lighter drinks during certain hours of the day; the villages are under martial law, and for the most part the men have their canteens filled with beer at the estaminet and consume it in the seclusion of their billets. All in all, the evils of intoxication among our overseas forces are so slight as to be almost negligible.

And, without going into an unsavory subject or quoting meaningless statistics, the same is true of sexual immorality. Venereal disease has been practically eradicated; the problem is as nothing in comparison with the same problem in the camps and civilian population at home. The use of the prophylactic preventative has been largely responsible for this, it is true, yet the clean lives of the men is the leading element. In the very worst places, like Liverpool and other centers in England, and England is far worse than France, the information I received tended to establish the fact that about 25 per cent. of the men received prophylactic each month, this including all the repeaters. Near the front lines in France the percentage drops until it practically disappears. The use of prophylactic has been the subject of heated discussions pro and con, the antagonists insisting that it is a virtual encouragement of immoral



AMERICAN LUMBERMEN IN THE SCOTCH HIGHLANDS
THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF THE A. E. F. TO LAND ON EUROPEAN SOIL



Y. M. C. A. HUT IN THE WOODS
MILES FROM ANY TOWN OR HABITATION

practices by an offer of protection on the part of the government. However this may be, its use has reduced disease almost to the vanishing point.

The leading preventative of immorality among the men is their own strong moral consciousness, very marked and easily discerned. But this consciousness is not narrow and does not concern itself with trivial details. They have defined it themselves, very clearly and very strikingly. The welfare workers who had been preaching and moralizing to the boys had concerned themselves with what they regarded as the cardinal sins: profanity, gambling, drunkenness, and sexual immorality. But while they harped on these things constantly, they secured little interest on the part of the soldiers themselves. At last cards were circulated among multiplied thousands of the men and they were asked to designate what they regarded as the five most repulsive sins. The answers were illuminating. Neither drunkenness, nor gambling, nor profanity, nor vice figured in the replies. Heading the list was cowardice. Then came selfishness. And the other three in order were hypocrisy, disloyalty, and meanness. It will be noted that these are all sins of the spirit, and when these "old rooks," as we used to call them, nailed these as the worst of all sins, they displayed a greater profundity, a better grasp on the fundamentals of the moral life, than any of the professional moralists who had presumed to lecture them.

Are the soldiers religious? No one can hope to evade the question. The answer is in the affirmative if by religion we mean a pure spirituality based on a recogni-

tion of the character of God. The answer is in the negative if we make it embrace any form of ecclesiasticism, dogmatism, or credal orthodoxy. In the former elements the men are firmly grounded. There is never one who does not recognize God, Christ, human need. They all carry Bibles, most of them pray, they are always ready to attend a religious service or talk about religion sincerely and without the slightest trace of embarrassment. But they care very little about the Church, less about the forms of religion, and still less about doctrines of all kinds. It is not that they antagonize these things; if they were asked about them they would doubtless reply that in their opinion they were all right; but they simply have no interest in them. In their mind the Church and creeds obscure rather than enhance the real values of faith, and it is not possible to work up in their souls any enthusiasm for anything that smacks of ecclesiasticism. As surely as the world stands, these men will absolutely ignore the Church on their return unless the Church has the courage and consecration to do away with ecclesiasticism, out-grown notions of orthodoxy, and the hollow statements of doctrine which have not had any content in a hundred years. Personally, I am not inclined to think that the Church will do this. But the choice is hers to make, and she may do what she chooses.

But the soldier has a vital religious consciousness which embraces all the fundamental ideas of the faith. I remember a gathering of men one evening in an old stable in a town where we were billeted; we had been

smoking, telling stories, singing snatches of popular songs, and enjoying ourselves generally. Suddenly a sergeant entered and informed the men that the battalion would move forward into the lines that night. There was a slight pause in the conversation; some of the men rose to leave and others expressed gratification at the news. Then one of the soldiers who had been fumbling a song book, and who was not known to be religious at all, called out: "Let's sing this song!" It was an old hymn beginning:

Lead on, O King Eternal, the day of march has come;
Henceforth in fields of conquest thy tents shall be our home.
Through days of preparation thy grace has made us strong,
And now, O King Eternal, we lift our battle song.

The men sang this song with a vim, the very ring of their voices attesting their sincerity and their appreciation of the sentiment.

On another occasion I was walking through the streets of Lironville in company with a rather rough sergeant, dodging here and there behind the ruined walls to avoid being seen by the enemy, whose lines were a few rods away. We passed the ruins of the once beautiful church, terribly wrecked now, and on glancing up we observed that the cross on the tower was still intact. The sergeant gazed about at the devastation by which we were surrounded, fixed his gaze again on the cross, lifted his hat, and quoted:

In the Cross of Christ I glory,
Towering o'er the wrecks of time.

When I first joined my division it was in training far behind the lines, and I carefully observed the religious sentiments among the men. Here they were rowdy, boisterous, seemingly careless, yet there was always a strain of deep seriousness present, which manifested itself on all occasions when religious meetings were held. These services were invariably crowded. Once I announced a Bible Class for Sunday morning and asked the men to designate a subject for our discussion. With practical unanimity they selected the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," and in the discussion I was surprised at the depth of understanding with which they regarded their present occupation in relation to the principles of our religion.

Within a week the division moved, for the first time, to the battle front. When the order came the men gathered again. A change was easily noticeable. They were just as rowdy as before, all were glad of the prospect before them, and none signified any desire to become religious simply because they might be killed. But the latent spiritual impulses of their natures came more to the surface, and nearly all of them took advantage of the opportunity to express their faith, to get a new grasp on their religion, and to renew their allegiance to the spiritual realities of the universe.

Week after week I have gone in and out of the lines, to the farthest outposts, through the trenches, in the support lines, and among the artillery positions in the rear of the lines. It was almost impossible to give away New Testaments because all of the men carried

them in their pockets already. In any position, trench, dug-out, or emplacement, it was only necessary to announce that we would have a little religious service to get a crowd; all of the men who could leave their places would gather at once. And in those unusual spots, while the guns of the enemy roared about us and shrapnel pieces from the shells of the anti-aircraft batteries sprinkled us liberally, these men, armed to the teeth, wearing gas masks and steel helmets, and engaged in the awful business of death, entered into the spirit of religious observances with a quiet zeal and fervor which evidenced that beneath the rough exterior their hearts were fully alive to eternal verities.

But they are conscious, as all of us are, of the contradiction between their present business and the principles of the faith which they profess. If they were theologians, if they cared one whit for systematic doctrines, they would be confused and bewildered, even as the Church is now floundering in confusion. It is a good thing for them and for religion that they are not theologians. They simply know that their country has called them to do battle, and they are sure that God will be with them—that is all they know or care. They have no idea that a special providence will hedge them about—which is another good thing: they thus have no embarrassing questions to answer, or try to answer. One day a visiting minister wanted to preach and I took him to a gun emplacement in the support lines. With about twenty men gathered around him he was discoursing with great unction of soul upon his belief that this war

was the cause of God. Suddenly the enemy got our range and a few 105s fell alarmingly near. We tumbled down into the old dug-out with unseemingly alacrity, and as he disappeared into the ground one of the soldiers remarked, "This may be the work of the Lord, but I'll be damned if I believe it."

On a certain occasion I was asked to prepare an article on "The Soldier's Confessional." I gave thought to the subject, and even started the article; but I was forced to abandon the effort because I discovered that the soldier had no confessional. His religious ideas are not systematic enough to be formulated into a confessional. He cannot even use the Apostle's Creed, unless indeed he uses it in the manner after which it is employed by the average Christian in the Church and repeats it with his lips without any real understanding of its contents or deep conviction of its truthfulness. If the soldier carefully analyzed his thoughts about the creed he would no doubt be compelled to repeat it somewhat after this fashion:

" 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty; ' He may be the creator of heaven and earth, but I know nothing about the scientific facts in the case. 'And in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord; ' as for the physical facts of His life I do not doubt them especially, but there are questions, and I do not consider these things material. 'He was crucified, dead, and buried; the third day He rose again from the dead, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; ' I doubt if He shall come again, and

I am quite sure that He is not acting in the rôle of judge of the quick and the dead. I believe in a spiritual presence in the world and have no objection to calling it the Holy Ghost. I think the holy catholic Church is a good thing. If 'communion of the saints' means the fellowship and fraternity of Christian people, then I am for it. And I am strong for the forgiveness of sins, the immortality of the soul—I do not believe in the resurrection of the physical body—and the life everlasting."

The soldier's faith is strong but simple. He believes in God and Christ, without definition; in man's need of God and forgiveness; in the eternal goodness of Deity; in the supremacy of spiritual and moral values; in the resurrection and eternal life. And that is about all. Some of us believe it is quite enough.

So when the soldier returns he will be open to the religious appeal, but it must be sincere and unmixed with propaganda for the perpetuation of institutions. Ecclesiastical rivalries, jealousies, and divisions will be despised by this man who has learned so much about fraternity and the necessity for solidarity and union. When a preacher tells him again that "simple faith in Christ is all that is required for salvation," he will be quick to ask in return, "Then why do you have so many denominations, representing so much pure waste, all founded on things which every preacher on earth confesses to be side issues and non-essentials." And we will be interested in knowing what reply the dogmatist will make.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLERGY AND THE PEOPLE

It is hardly possible to live anywhere in Europe, or in America either, for that matter, and pay even a casual attention to religious ideas without discovering that there is a tremendous ferment going on in the domain of spiritual faith. There is a realization in nearly all quarters that the times are calling for a life of the spirit, and the demand for an adequate interpretation of God is insistent. But with this there is coupled a frank recognition of the fact that no human institutions or conceptions are meeting the needs thus felt. And accordingly there is a protest against the Church and the clergy because of their failure to supply to the world the elements which its heart craves in these times; they were naturally expected to conserve and sustain the spirits of men in the war the same as other agencies were supposed to supply guns, clothes, recreation, amusement, cigarettes, and the like. Now the other agencies fulfilled their functions admirably, but the Church did not. She let people grope in the dark and failed to interpret God and the facts of religion in adequate terms for purposes of these severe days. The Church tried to perpetuate her platitudinous utterances

and doctrines, and since the world had lost interest in these things in peaceful times it could hardly be expected to flock back to them when war spread its blight and brought the demand for a closer touch with reality. Hence the protest, which ranges all the way from mild indifference to bitter antagonism.

This about sums up the religious situation as I found it in England, France, and Italy after much investigation. After reaching Europe my first concern was to discover what the Church was doing; my natural instincts thus prompted and my knowledge that the spirit of the people depended largely upon the Church made me doubly anxious to secure adequate information. If I was making social investigation and was interested in the life of the people, of course the Church must not be neglected; and the conversation that one could hear anywhere in regard to religion and its institutionalized life convinced me that there was a marked situation to deal with. It was therefore with much zest and expectancy that I set about the task of securing an understanding of these matters. The method of approach was through the people, and from that standpoint all conclusions were made. I have since had these conclusions severely criticized, particularly by the clergy, and the strictures were always based on the fact that my statements were not in total agreement with the views of certain ministers; the critics did not understand, or else they did not approve, the fact that my observations were made through the people and embodied the views of the people—of all ranks and classes, the rich and poor, the soldiers and

government officials, rationalists and clergymen, Catholics and Protestants. One trouble with the clergymen to-day is that they approach all matters from their own standpoint and regard all social movements through their own spectacles. I tried to adopt a different method, and my statements have embodied the attitude of the people whether they meet with the approval of the clergy or not.

What are the religious ideas in the hearts of the people in these times? This was one phase of the situation, which I started to investigate. After the formation of some acquaintances, especially in the case of some religious workers in the slum districts and some persons who had access to Christian homes of a more elevated social station, it was an easy matter to form judgments. For several days I did little save visit homes, going the pastoral rounds with the social workers, attending little home receptions with the soldiers, and in all possible ways endeavoring to obtain access to the people. Practically all of the homes had suffered from the war—sons, husbands, fathers, brothers were dead, mutilated, or “out there”—and the utterances that fell from the lips of these people at home were representative of the deepest sentiments of the heart.

Without detailing the record of visits and conversations with these persons, I may say that the war has had upon religious people two opposite effects. In the case of one section, the old and more intensely religious element of the population, it has served to drive them deeper into their faith and make them cling to their

conceptions and practices with a more passionate devotion. Suffering of the most intense character, the loss of all that they had deemed dear in life, and a dreadful uncertainty concerning the outcome of it all—these things have driven the people to have recourse to the only source of hope and comfort which they have ever known, their religion. And so all over Europe one may find people to whom religion means more and gives more at this time than ever before. I visited in the home of a lady prominent in the affairs of a certain Church; she and her daughters were in deep mourning, and the features of their white faces told stories of mental anguish unspeakable. The two sons and brothers, three nephews and cousins, a multitude of friends and loved ones were all sleeping beneath the little white crosses “out there.” To these people the war had no more horrors; it had done its worst to them. They were remarkably quiet and smiled with a wonderful sweetness—it made me better to see them smile! Their conversation was filled with assurances of comfort and faith and their hearts were as calm as a summer’s afternoon. They were sad, but no hatred rankled in their souls; they never once spoke of “the ’un.” “Perhaps the war is a good thing after all,” the lovely lady said to me; “at any rate it has brought me a faith that I never knew before. I have something to pray for now; I know what Christ suffered, I know how valuable the doctrine of immortality is, and my faith in a heaven is strengthened into a certainty and conviction that nothing can shake. When the war came I was driven

to my knees and to the Church. When the blows began to fall upon my heart I was driven more and more deeply into communion with God. And now I understand how little avails the things that we can handle and lay up. Nothing counts but love, and love cannot be sustained apart from God." And then she smiled her wonderful smile and was content.

There are not many like this lady, but I found several who had known her experience. Down in the slums of the east end of London and in other walks they are living on the Bread of Life. Each day they go to their Churches and return with a new comfort. The fleeting glance that I received of this side of religious life made me understand that here were the germs of a tremendous awakening. But alas! the other side was so apparent that it was evident the trend of things was in the other direction.

The war has had an opposite effect upon the lives of another section of the people. It has brought to them nothing save distress, confusion, doubt. These are the more intellectual folk—it is not that the other section do not possess intellectual strength, but they do not approach the facts of life through that channel. This second section is more inclined to weigh facts, evidence, and influences. And to them the war has meant misunderstandings that have beclouded their faith and filled their hearts with uncertainty. In the first place, they have heard the charge that Christianity has broken down and proved a failure. Over and over the rationalist press presents the well-worn arguments. Christianity

failed to prevent war! The world has repudiated the doctrines of Christ! Now what about your doctrine of the other cheek! And people have been deluded and deceived by these specious utterances until some of the best of them are half-inclined to throw over religion altogether. With socialists, labor union enthusiasts, skeptics, New Thought advocates, and the whole coterie of agitators inveighing against religion from morning until night, and with the Christian apologists either ignoring the attacks or replying in bulky and expensive tomes couched in the phrases of the university lecture room, and which the people never see and would not read if they did see, it is small wonder that those average men who think seriously but superficially have been all but swept from their moorings.

Then adding to this confusion are a group of extremely orthodox ecclesiastics with a set of outgrown notions concerning verbal inspiration and literal interpretation of the Bible, which issue in a doctrine called pre-millenarianism. As Principal Forsyth remarked, not one of these men ever did the New Testament the honor of becoming a recognized authority in it, but they are vociferous enough to make up for their lack of influence and intelligence. Their teachings are that the Bible is verbally inspired by God and is infallible, that it must be interpreted literally, that prophecy was the prediction by inspired men of events that would happen in the distant future, and that Christ will soon come to establish Himself in person in this world, rule on a temporal throne, put his enemies to death, catch up the

faithful and make them float in the air, etc., etc. They believe that Christ will not come until the world goes so completely to hell that it cannot longer get along without Him, and in the war they see signs of the coming. They do not know, or else they do not regard the fact, that there has never been an age in which these notions did not flourish, there was never a calamity which did not breed a perfect swarm of their adherents.

I visited a preacher who is more or less noted for expounding such views. He told me that the world had forsaken "the word" and thus the war came about; "the word," as understood by him, meant verbal inspiration and literal interpretation. With his permission I propounded a series of questions to which I requested answers from his standpoint, some of them being the following: On the basis of verbal inspiration how do you deal with differing and contradictory accounts of the same happening, like the conversion of Paul, for example, without impeaching God by throwing onto Him, as inspirer, the responsibility of contradicting Himself? If the Bible is accepted literally in all sections what shall we do with the statement in Ecclesiastes that "a man hath no preëminence above a beast," and the implication in the question "Are ye not much more than they?" If the world must go to hell does not that imply the failure of Christ's attempt to redeem the world through the operation of His Spirit? If this hellward process is a part of God's plan for the final establishment of His kingdom, prepared and outlined centuries ago, is not God impeached as the author of a program of

immorality? If you are anxious to secure the return of Christ, and if He will not return until the hellward process is complete, would it not be logical for you and your crowd to assist the hellward trend by becoming out-breaking criminals in society? If you insist on being pure and saving yourself, are you not selfish in that you postpone the coming of the kingdom in order to secure your own salvation? As was to be expected, this preacher refused to discuss such matters and accused me of being an infidel in the employ of the Rationalist Press Association! By forcibly injecting these views into the religious situation to-day these pre-millenarians have contributed much to spread dissension, confusion, and doubt among the people. They play into the hands of the rationalist, because, as the people have learned, literalism and verbal inspiration cannot be defended in the face of the plain fact of the Bible itself; and the people who are constantly being taught these indefensible theories are becoming more and more confused.

One day a group of correspondents were en route to the British Headquarters under the escort of some officers detailed for the service by the war department. The topics of conversation were naturally varied, but I was surprised to note that the subject of religion was broached over and over again, and each time the officers were willing and prepared to discuss it. The remarks relative to spirituality and religion were always most respectful and reverent, but they were exceedingly flippant and disrespectful in regard to the Church and the clergy. "The Archbishop of Canterbury is a Vic-

torian relic," was a remark that caused laughter and agreement. One intelligent young captain seemed to be the spokesman for the entire company, and I ventured to put to him certain questions and suggestions in the hope that his answers and the attitude of the others to them might furnish me some information of value.

"What has the Church done in the present war in the way of service to the people and the nation?" I asked him.

"Nothing whatever," he replied. "She has only made trouble. The Church was expected to render no service save a spiritual service; this she has not even attempted, and in deserting this legitimate field and trying to work in others she has made a jolly mess of it."

"What has she done in particular, in creating this mess?"

"Much in every way. There is not an officer in the army who does not know that the Church has interfered with discipline and contributed to inefficiency by objecting to cricket and other games on Sunday. We use these games in training the men: for example a good bowler is an excellent bomber because the method of throwing is the same, and in the same way fencing develops efficiency in bayonet fighting. It was our custom to encourage these games on Sunday afternoons, thereby assisting our men, entertaining them, and keeping in touch with them. Then came the clergy to object, and wherever they have sustained their protests demoralization has resulted. Our men are bored and we lose track of them

on Sunday. It is a damned outrage, perpetrated by damned fools!"

This conclusion I found to be concurred in by practically all the officers, the noted General, an old Sudan veteran who had charge of all the training activities, being especially indignant at the suggestion that his games might be prevented. And when we were being shown the cricket field the question, "Have the bishops interfered with you yet?" brought a sullen scowl to the officer's face.

"Have they done anything else?" I asked.

"Much," my officer replied. "They have made such a howl against reprisals that we must sit quietly and be bombed day after day by the Hun without being able to lift a finger in retaliation. The clergy alone are responsible for the situation, as everybody knows. They plead the efficacy of moral suasion and example in dealing with an enemy whose conceptions of such things are long since dead. The army demands reprisals, and the same demand is echoed by the king and the people. But the clergy prevent the policy. Bah! To hell with such a government!"

"Do not the clergy render good service as chaplains?"

"Some do, most do not. Too many times they hinder by their jealousy of the Y. M. C. A. and of other chaplains sent out by different communions. We could dispense with most of them and be better off."

"What do you think is wrong with them?"

"I think the trouble is plain ignorance. They know nothing about the people. They have been trained in

another direction and have lived apart from them, so that to-day they have no message for the nation. I went home from the trenches on Easter and went to hear my own parson. He preached from the text, 'I go a-fishing,' and I sat there hungry for some message of hope and some sign of God; but the padre had no idea of what I needed or what the people needed. They should compel all young clergymen to spend a few years in the east end as a part of their education."

"What do the soldiers think of the clergymen at the front?"

"They have different ideas for different parsons. But as a rule they do not take the chaplains seriously. He is either what you call 'a good fellow' and drinks with the men, else he lives apart from them; in either case his spiritual influence is small. The men understand that a drinking parson, and one who excuses their immorality, as most of them do after some fashion, does not represent Christ."

"You seem to see little good in the clergymen," I at last said to him.

"Little good at the present time," he agreed. "The Church has caused trouble in every land. In Ireland, England, Mexico, Russia, Italy, Canada, and Australia the Church has been the source of mischief and dissension. The only exception is in France, where the government paid not the least attention to the clergy but conscripted them as common soldiers along with the run of men. The result has been that the French priests are more beloved than ever before."

"But you must remember that in all of these countries you mention the trouble has been caused by a Church which either has or claims temporal and political rights."

"Ah! You have sensed the trouble," he exclaimed. "It is a political Church that bothers us. Even here in England the non-conformists have kept their souls. Their young men have 'joined up' willingly, their message has been true, and they should be excepted from any of the strictures which I have pronounced against these Anglicans. After this war we will have a settlement, and one of the first acts of reconstruction must be the disestablishment of the Church."

The doctrines set forth by this young captain I later found to be the prevailing sentiments everywhere—among the soldiers, officials, and men on the street. And they are held and freely promulgated by men who are themselves deeply religious and communicants of the established Church; in practically all instances these persons took care to conclude their prophecies on what would happen to the Church after the war with the statement, "But we must see to it that religion does not suffer."

The situation created in me a new desire to see for myself these clergymen who were thus abused. Armed with letters of commendation and introduction from some of the leading clergymen of America, the possession of which, reënforcing my own position, seemed calculated to secure for me the attention of any minister anywhere, I began the rounds. My first visit was to a

Methodist known on both sides of the Atlantic, a distinguished editor, author, and preacher. He received me with a pale smile and showed a mild interest when he read my credentials and heard my mission. But I could get nothing from him of interest, and my hopes that he would assist me faded. He showed no inclination to extend facilities that would expedite my work, and as for the fact that the Church had any especial mission in the present crisis, or was the object of any special opposition on the part of persons who mattered, he seemed never to have heard of it. Across the street I would find the old Bunhill Fields burying grounds and the graves of Susannah Wesley, John Bunyan, DeFoe, and other celebrities, while the City Road Chapel, Wesley's House, and Museum were close at hand; I would be interested in these things! And indeed I did get more inspiration from these remains of the dead than I received from the living in that vicinity.

I tried it again. Mine host this time was another noted divine, author of books on sale but seldom read in this country, whose mighty Church lifts its dome across from Westminster Abbey. I searched for thirty minutes before I could discover where this pastor kept himself, and at last I found myself in his presence. He said he was glad to see me, but he did not act like it. He put himself out but little in receiving me; in fact he entirely dispensed with the formality of asking me to have a chair and talk with him. One swift glance over his spectacles was the only look I received from him, and as he bustled around he observed, "If you are pres-

ent at any of our services I shall be pleased to have a word with you."

I thought I would perhaps succeed better elsewhere, and I motored across Westminster Bridge to a clergyman known around the world. Here I was received kindly but coldly. I could not draw this pastor out on any subject, and my suggestion that the war presented a challenge to the religious world simply evoked the reply: "Certainly, sir, certainly. We must hold the faith. I see in it all the fulfillment of prophecy. We must be nearing the end; yes, we must be, indeed!" By this time I had begun to think that discourtesy was a part of the general equipment of British clergymen. It was not until later that I realized the possible cause of the attitude I encountered; a Scotchman told me—I was wearing a straw hat and a brown suit with a belt around the waist! Offense enough!

I met the one representative of an efficient ministry in a live young minister down Whitechapel way; he was in charge of a system of missions in the east end of London and was living, moving, and having his being with the people. He knew them and their problems, and his establishment radiated helpfulness. He smoked but did not drink, and lived the life of a man among men. I found him open to the appeal of the national crisis and crying out his heart for a method to assist, and daily he was giving his strong right arm to the service of the distressed. It was no wonder that his auditorium, down in the slums, was an immense one

and that the Queen and the Princess Mary were wont to pay him a visit once in a while.

I came from the atmosphere of America, and was almost amazed at the lethargy which possessed the clergy of England. I found it a literal truth that those whom I visited knew little about life and little about the demands made upon them by the present age. There were brilliant exceptions, of course, but as a general rule it seemed to me true that "their training had stereotyped their minds." I attended their services and heard them preach—good, wholesome sermons for the most part and from a theoretical standpoint. But I met no clergymen who could tell me what should be done about the deplorable state of European social morality, and none offered a program of social endeavor. Surely if ever a Church deserved disestablishment it is the Church of England, and one hopes that the prediction of the young captain may come true.

I should be dealing unjustly, however, if I left the impression that there are no clergymen who are grasping the significance of these days. I have seen scores of them. They labor in the trenches and on the firing lines, in the hospitals and prison camps, everywhere men are found. No sacrifice is too great for them to make. These are they who have a firm grasp on the spiritual realities of the universe and are able to interpret them in terms of life. They do not, like so many of their fellows, cover the sins of the Tommies with admiring phrases and balance their courage and unselfishness over against their immorality and drunkenness so as to give

them a clean slate. Neither do they dabble in pre-millenarian foolishness or any other form of physical interpretation. And they are not confused in their thinking concerning God. To such as these Mr. Wells makes no appeal, because they know what Mr. Wells does not; while he was reveling in socialistic fantasies they were sitting at the feet of the Master of all the ages; their wisdom is the fruit of long experience while his is the result of presumptuous conceit, touched with a sense of former failure. Unto such men as these all honor should be accorded—and it will be.

And the soldiers are religious too, in a sense, although they do not seem to be Christians. They know "the White Comrade" but they do not connect Him with the Church—rather do they connect the Church with the Pharisees whom He denounced so severely. It is a natural religion that they have—the kind that the Student in Arms described in those wonderful words which have been so often quoted that they do not need quotation any more. Perhaps when this war is over the clergy will have learned a lesson. Perhaps the Church will reform enough to learn where the people are and what the Bible is. And then this natural religion which the soldiers have can be made to issue into the Christianity of a repentant Church, and the "White Comrade" will cover the earth with His spiritual influence. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH AND THE WAR

There are perhaps few well-informed people to-day who do not realize that the outlook for the Church, aside from our faith in its ultimate triumph and on the basis of the facts as they now present themselves, is far from bright. There is a protest against it in all parts of the world, ranging in its degree of severity from mild indifference to violent hatred, and this opposition from the outside is reënforced by unrest on the inside. And so marked is the tendency against the Church that we might abandon all hope and join the ranks of those who so confidently predict its early and complete destruction did we not understand the social and personal need of religious organizations, and did we not have a spiritual faith in the premises.

In France the antagonism to the Church is perhaps not so marked as elsewhere, for there prevails at the present time a more cordial feeling towards it than has been the case in recent years. The trammels of Roman Catholicism were recently broken, and as a result of this action there grew up an estrangement between France and the Vatican that amounted almost to open hostility. This feeling still exists in a great degree, the

Pope still maintaining a sullen attitude toward France and France having a deep suspicion of the Pope. Unlike some of her allies, she has not sent a diplomatic representative to the papal court, and she was the last nation to officially thank his holiness for his efforts in securing the transfer and exchange of prisoners of war.

But while the relations are by no means cordial, there are signs that France regards the Church in a light somewhat more favorable than formerly. This is due almost wholly to the fact that the priests are fighting in the trenches as private soldiers. By conscripting the ecclesiastics along with all others France avoided the trouble which England has incurred and kept down some of the causes of the anti-ecclesiasticism which prevails across the channel. At the same time certain of the priests have demeaned themselves nobly in the war and have gained the respect of the people. Thus France has forgotten that the priests are conscripts, that they doubtless would not have "joined up" otherwise, and that they have caused dissension and trouble in all of the allied countries where they were exempted. The worst thing that could have happened to the Church was clerical exemption from military service; this lies at the base of much opposition and misunderstanding and has served to draw the Church farther away from the people. But although the attitude of the French toward the Church has somewhat improved, there are no signs that cordial relations are about to be entered into, nor are the people flocking to the churches as a result of the war. The indifference and opposition which prevails

elsewhere in the world is prominent in France also.

In Italy the anti-ecclesiastical spirit is marked. Here the Church has suffered much from the war. Rome is convinced, along with the rest of Europe, that the Pope is at heart pro-German, and the action of the Vatican in retaining enemy aliens in official positions, and the Gerlac case in particular, has embittered the people. The Pope protested because the diplomatic representatives of Germany and Austria left Rome at the outbreak of the war, and he has been unwilling to submit to the delays and inconveniences in the transmission of mail and telegraphic communications which the state of belligerency made incumbent upon all people. Then his peace proposals have all had a pro-German ring. It would be difficult to convince the Italian masses that Benedict is not at heart in sympathy with the cause of the Central allies. The Vatican itself, however, does not understand that it has estranged the people more and more during the war. Because of the fact that England and Russia have sent representatives to its court since the war began it believes the hand of the Pope has been strengthened, and that these nations are coming to a recognition of his temporal claims. Nothing could be farther from the truth. These agents are little more than secret service operatives, and their appointment was made with no other motive than to have men on the ground to watch the operations inside the Vatican palace. They represent suspicion rather than cordiality.

This attitude which is the outgrowth of the war comes on top of an anti-papal sentiment which has been grow-

ing in Italy since the adoption of the absurd "prisoner of the Vatican" theory, and even before that time. This fiction, and the temporal phases of the Italian question upon which it rests, are derided and sneered at by the people in all the ranks of society, and the longer these political aspirations are cherished the deeper will become the gulf between the Church and the people. Rome is by far the most anti-papal city of Europe, and the lack of respect for the Church is surprising to the casual observer. The most strenuous opposition to the hierarchy of the Church runs through Italian society, and it comes from ministers of state, captains of industry, leaders in thought, the men on the street, socialists, and all other social groups. The clerical party, defenders of the Church, embraces an insignificant portion of the people who are Catholics; these people are determined to stand by and support the Law of Guarantees no matter what may happen to the Church.

The same state of affairs prevails in England also. So far as the Catholic Church is concerned the opposition has deepened into hatred. In Ireland the Catholics have hobnobbed with the enemy and have attempted to betray the Empire while it was struggling for its life, just as they have done in every war in which Britain has been engaged. In Canada they have opposed conscription, prevented enlistment, and hampered the conduct of the war in many ways, and they have done the same thing in Australia. England, therefore, has a settled conviction that the Catholics are traitors, and she hates the Church accordingly.

And England has come almost to blows with the Anglicans also. Time and again I have heard the officers of the British army condemn the Church with deep bitterness, and in nearly all cases these officers were communicants of the Church and possessed of deep religious sentiments. In one group I heard an officer express the consensus of opinion by saying that in Russia, England, France, Italy, Germany, Canada, Australia, Ireland, and Mexico the Church had given trouble in the war, and he expressed the sentiment that the entire idea should be thrown overboard, or some new organization be built up on the facts of religion. The governmental officials, the officers, the soldiers, and the people generally feel that the Church has not "played the game," and that the war has broken down her organization completely.

The Countess of Warwick states the case against the Church this way: "Granted that the task before the Church was a very formidable one, that it was even impossible, something of the equivalent in moral courage to the physical courage shown upon the battle field should have been forthcoming from its spokesmen. Unfortunately there is much to suggest that the Established Church is conserving its courage for the post bellum task of preaching the old platitudes and asking those who have seen war, or merely suffered by it, to take them seriously. And truly courage of a kind is needed for this. . . . The failure of the Established Church during the war is the inevitable result of its failure during the long years that preceded it. It has

been the collapse of an Institution that deliberately dwelt in a world of its own imagining, and never had the strength of will or purpose to tell home-truths to the comfortable and the possessing classes, upon whose support it has learned to rely. . . . Peace has its massacres no less complete than war, and to the most of these massacres, whether by drink, disease, poverty, or vice, the Established Church has been a spectator, if the term can be applied to that which has eyes but sees not, ears but hears not, and a mouth in which most utterance is platitudinous. The Heads of the Established Church, with one or two brilliant exceptions, do not know anything of the actualities of the world in which they live; they do not dare to know; their training has stereotyped their minds; the present state of the world has found them not only unprepared, but quite helpless to cope with it. I do not expect to live to see the Established Church recognize the truth that the real salvation of this country depends upon the removal of all social conditions that create paupers, criminals, and lunatics. I do not expect to hear ministers advocating ceaselessly in the pulpit the taking of the necessary measures for restoring the social balance, quite regardless of the chance that there may be among the congregation some of those whose life-work is responsible for one or more of the evils denounced. Before the war, such home-truths were tolerated only from the preachers who were extremely fashionable and preached to an audience almost exclusively feminine, an audience that took no heed of what they said, and was concerned only

with the manner of saying it. One does not dare to dwell upon the fashionable preacher whose congregation is largely feminine!" ("The New Religion," *Hibbert Journal*. July, 1917.)

This protest is voiced from the standpoint of the Internationalist, whose opposition is based on the alleged fact that the Church has not performed her social duty. This attitude on the part of socialists is by no means new, but it has been accentuated and given a new influence by the war. This is true because the war has revealed the need of some social agency which can solve the problems of inequality and secure social justice; and these problems have been revealed as moral at the bottom and hence in the province of the Church. And since they have not been solved it is perfectly natural that the failure to solve them should be laid at the door of the Church. Then the laboring man has gained a new influence in the order of things as they exist at the present time; he has more money and he is recognized as being a more vital factor in the life of our times. Therefore his opinions have more weight, and thus much attention is being given to his opinion of the Church. Socialism is also become more formidable in Europe, owing to the new position of the laborer, the strength of labor unions in the present crisis, and the hopes which the Allies placed upon the German socialists in the matter of destroying autocracy from the inside and bringing about peace.

The causes for such an attitude towards the Church are many and varied. One of them is the general unrest

and uncertainty in all matters of religion. The war has shocked people out of their old complacency in regard to spiritual affairs, and in the search for stability they have become confused. A thousand voices call them this way and that. One cries out that the war proves the final failure of Christianity, another says that the end of the world is at hand, still another upholds one of the multitude of foolish isms that are adrift to-day, and one makes a rationalistic attack on the subject matter of faith. Gradually people are losing their religion, as a systematic and well-grounded conviction. It brings them no comfort and hope in the midst of the greatest sorrow they have ever known. They hear of movements and doctrines which they cannot understand, and their minds and hearts become beclouded with anxiety and doubt. There is religious unrest, change, and flux all over the world, and the Church suffers on both sides. There can be little doubt that when the religious atmosphere clears the ecclesiastical air will clear also.

Then the European clergy are clearly out of touch with the people. They do not know where the people live, what they are doing, what their problems are, or how they are getting on. When the Countess of Warwick declares that they are living in a world of their own imagining, she is right. Their education really does separate them from life, and under the European form of ecclesiastical administration they have little incentive to plunge into the social tasks and problems of the day. It is a common complaint on the part of the soldiers that the Church never cared anything about

them, hence they never cared anything about the Church. The clergymen themselves will readily admit, in many cases, at least, that they are divorced from the people. In this situation it is inevitable that the Church should decline; in this situation the Church ought to decline, since it cannot fulfill its function in the world while it lives over the heads of the men in the street. The sermons that one hears in the average Church in which a middle aged clergyman officiates will reveal the fact that the preacher does not take his start from the facts of human existence. On one occasion I heard a chaplain who had just come from the front tell of a fellow chaplain who had preached to a company of men just emerged from an experience of eight days under fire in the front line on the subject, "Does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father or from the Father and the Son?" The Church knows more about heaven than it does about the earth, and it knows next to nothing about heaven. Its theology, its concerns, the very tones of its ministers unfit it to grasp the life of the times. The people know this, and they see no good in such an institution. Here is the secret of much of the opposition which the Church encounters.

There is the further fact that the divisions in the Church serve to repel the people. The average man sees no sense in such divisions, since they are based on things which do not interest him in the least; when the Churches themselves admit that the things upon which they differ are details and not fundamentals and at the same time set so much store by the details that they re-

fuse to get together, the average man repudiates them. It seems to him that they spend more energy caring for their details than in pushing their fundamentals. In this he is undoubtedly right. When the war broke out everything else united in a common task. Political and social differences were forgotten, old animosities were laid aside. But the Church refused to unite, and to-day her divisions are among her greatest handicaps. And by keeping them up she is more and more estranging the people.

The following extract from Sherwood Eddy will show the situation in too many cases: "In the last hospital we visited, the young American Episcopal chaplain working with one of our own units asked the writer to accompany him one morning to help him in cheering up the patients, giving them Testaments, meeting their needs, and answering their doubts and difficulties. While we were proceeding through one of the wards, the Nonconformist chaplain came by. The writer was speaking to a poor boy who was dying. The chaplain seemed shocked and surprised that we were speaking to one of his patients without his permission. The young Episcopal chaplain explained that he felt sure the chaplain would not mind if we tried to help the men. Although he followed him out of the ward and tried his best to make his peace with him, the chaplain reported the matter, and we were prevented from doing personal Christian work in neighboring hospitals. The Roman Catholic chaplain in the next hospital, a most consecrated and earnest man, has managed to get a mili-

tary rule passed that no services can be held in any ward of the hospital unless every Roman Catholic patient is bodily carried out. This has successfully prevented the holding of any Christian services whatsoever, Catholic or Protestant. To give another instance—a personal friend of the writer, a young Anglican clergyman, a widely known college principal, was serving in one of the huts of a Convalescent Camp. He had made the acquaintance of the patients in some twelve wards and was going the rounds every morning telling the war news, giving oranges to the fevered, and cheering up the depressed. The Commandant came with apologies and told him that although he was doing the best Christian work in the hospital it must be discontinued, as the chaplain objected. Our friend, who was a clergyman of the same communion as the chaplain, called upon him and asked if he had any objection to the distribution of fruit. He replied that if our friend did this it would give an unfair advantage to his work as his particular organization would get the credit, and that he, as the chaplain, must 'push his own show.' To continue in the words of our friend: 'Then I asked him if I could send the fruit through the lady workers or the hut orderlies, or the Tommies who were friends of the wounded. But he refused all. So I asked him if he would distribute them if I gave them. This he agreed to, and I have sent them to him since then. But he is too busy.' The oranges were not distributed, and our friend concludes: 'I am out against the whole principle on which he acts. I don't think he is much to be blamed. He is one of the

best; a keen, hard working, pleasant man, zealous for his own show, and in its interests doing much for the men. And in his principle of action he is not an exception, but a common type of the Anglican *padre* as I have met him in many lands. They are trained and encouraged to push their own show. But this keenness on one's own show rather than on men, is the very essence of the sin of schism, and the very root of Pharisaism. Now, as a rule, all the sects stand for their own show first, and men know it. I am ashamed to be a parson to-day. Men were not made for any Church, but the Church for them.'” (“With Our Soldiers in France,” 156-158.)

The sight of a divided Church, divided in most cases over the merest trivialities in comparison to fundamental agreements, entailing the most tremendous waste and overlapping of energies, is calculated to repel and disgust the average man; and the matter is made worse by the fact that the leaders of the ecclesiastical organizations alone are responsible for the situation, since the denominational divisions have long since lost the loyalty of the laity.

Another cause of the present antagonism to the Church is found in the wide spread feeling that the Church does not properly represent Christianity. Religion is not suffering overmuch, and Christianity, while it is the object of attack, is still supreme in the world. In this situation the Church could not decline except the people believed it to be unrepresentative of Christ. Such sentiments appear especially among the soldiers.

They seem to associate all that they deem noble with the name of Christ, and "The White Comrade" secures their love and worship. They realize His religion means love, peace, goodness, salvation—the very negation of everything this war means; they are quite sure that if Christ had His way this horror would not have happened; and they are longing for the time to come when Christ may have His way, for no person hates war so cordially as the common soldier. Therefore any movement that bids fair to let Christ have His way may be sure of the support of these men.

They draw away from or ignore the Church for the simple reason that they do not see the Christ influence emanating from it. It stands, in their opinion, for a smug respectability. It does not seem to insist upon morality very much, and upon social justice not at all. Its social activity does not reflect its prayers, and to the soldier it seems to represent the very Pharisaism which Christ so bitterly denounced. If it ever cared much for them, common men of the streets, before the war they never found it out. And its love for them in the present crisis does not seem to affect them much. It overshoots the mark, and in many cases even verifies the suspicion they have always entertained concerning it. For its clergymen are coddling them and flattering them without making any serious attempts to convert them; and they even go so far as to excuse the most immoral practices and assure the men that they will be saved if they are brave and die as true Britishers. You cannot deceive the soldier in any such way; he instinctively

understands that this is not the way of Christ. On one occasion an English chaplain, wholly unknown to me, recognized me as an American by the cut of my coat and, leaving the company of soldiers with whom he had been drinking and smoking, came to me with an offer of whiskey and cigarettes. "You will like these," he said, "for they are American brands." I declined his kind offer and handed him my card with the remark, "I am a clergyman and hence do not drink whiskey." He seemed not in the least abashed, rather surprised, and merely replied, "Oh, well, this is war." But the soldiers enjoyed the incident immensely and were rather harsh in their ridicule of the chaplain. And later one of them said to me, "He had better have your ideas or you had better have his cross and collar!"

It is easy to see that the European Church did very little in the war. There was a "Church Army," organized in imitation of the Salvation Army, and supposedly in opposition to it, but its influence was nil. In social endeavor, and even in evangelistic religion, the Y. M. C. A. supplanted the Church, and the Church seemed perfectly willing to give way, knowing that in her divided state she was entirely impotent to deal with the situation. She sent out her chaplains, but they accomplished little; they were either out of touch with the problems of life and could make no appeal to the men, else they were "good fellows" with them, socially popular but religiously unrespected. At home the Church preached the war, prayed for the war, and urged enlistment. But while she thought that in this way she

was rendering a great service, the public did not consider this any service at all. Little thanks the Church received for her prayers and moral sanctions. No man would be excused from military duty, remarks a recent writer, on the ground that he devotes so many hours per day to praying for the war. These things were taken as a matter of course, deserving neither thanks nor attention; they did not count in the balance either way.

Over against this, however, there were certain things which make some people believe that the Church did not support the war sincerely. Leading the list was her opposition to a policy of reprisals in the matter of air raids. The people demanded reprisals, that the Hun be repaid in his own coin. They wanted British airships to sail over German towns and bomb unprotected German people, as the Germans themselves had treated the British. The king desired this, although it makes not the least difference in England what the king desires. Ministers of state wanted it, so did the army, and the same is true of the public generally. But it was opposed by the Church, which, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Canterbury and some leading educators, long prevented it. The argument was that their country had conducted the war on a high plane and should not descend to barbarism for the simple reason that the enemy descended to it. There was no military advantage to be gained by returning evil for evil, and it would even work against military success by forcing the withdrawal of airships from the fronts. The position taken by the Church leaders was right, and the

only one morally defensible; if it could have been maintained England would have come out of the war morally redeemed from the disgrace which some of her past actions have brought upon her, and then even those who favored reprisals would be proud of her. But hatred held sway to such an extent that most of the people were even willing to jeopardize success at the front to wreak vengeance upon German women and children, whose destruction would in nowise help win the war. In fact, it might have defeated its purpose by cementing the people, as the German outrages did in England. There is no doubt that the policy of ruthlessness on the part of the Hun was the thing which united England and made possible the creation of a mighty army by the volunteer system. But the people saw red. "Let the gutters run full with the blood of German women and children"—this, says the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the sentiment expressed in many letters he received.

Coupled with this was the exemption of the clergy, a cause of dissatisfaction that was practically universal. Over and over again have I heard complaints based on this score. It was not that the young clergymen were unwilling to "join up"; they were not permitted by their superiors to enlist. Some of them, it is true, entered the army regardless, but in so doing they doubtless forfeited all hope of preference in their profession after the war, and the chances are that they will not return to it. The people feel, and rightly so, that there was no justice in exempting the young clergy-

man, and the fact that he was exempted drew him apart from the common run of men—and he was already too far apart from them. And it caused the clergy to be regarded as a group of unpatriotic “slackers;” the speeches and prayers of a set of men who will not serve their country by bearing arms avail little. But the most serious aspect of this matter is the fact that after the war we are likely to have clergymen who are still more out of touch with life, who missed the experiences which most of their fellows underwent, and who must bear the stigma of missing it for unpatriotic reasons. Unless this can be corrected there is little hope for the Anglican Church in the future.

Practically all of this opposition is against the dominating or established Church in the various countries; in Italy and France the Roman Catholic and in England the Anglican communions bear the brunt of the dissatisfaction. With the Nonconformists the case is different, for while they suffer from the general religious uncertainty and the disrepute which has overtaken the leading ecclesiastical organizations, they do not meet such bitter denunciation as falls to the lot of the others. I took the liberty of pointing out to a group of officers, whose criticism of the Church had been quite sharp, the fact that all of the communions which had given trouble in any country were either the possessors of or claimants for political power, and that the Nonconformists had deported themselves better. All hands agree in this; even the Countess of Warwick admits that the chapel has preserved its soul and its moral courage in

the present crisis. There is toward it a kindlier feeling everywhere. Nonconformist clergymen have "joined up" more freely, they have not dabbled in politics or endeavored to dictate to the government, and they have demeaned themselves more admirably in every way. It was easier for them, since they were not looked to for any definite program or leadership. They at least are in touch with the people; since their income depends upon the voluntary contributions of the people they have a motive for understanding them that is not altogether spiritual. If there is any happy outlook for the Church in Europe to-day it is in the case of Nonconformity. And if these communions would only be content to live their own lives and make their own appeals, without the constant imitation of the Anglican ritual and practices, it would be easy to predict that they would control the society of the future.

But the general dissatisfaction against the Establishment does not signify at all that the Nonconformist Churches are gaining from it. Men do not fall out with the former and then go to the latter; they rather fall out with all and either disregard religion entirely or are caught by some of the visionary schemes of "natural religion," unattached and unorganized idealism like that represented by the Countess of Warwick or Mr. Wells, and in the end this means a total loss of religion through the loss of expressional channels.

Neither does the dissatisfaction with the Church indicate that religion is suffering. Christianity suffers, although most of the critics of the Church do not mean

it to, but not in proportion with the Church itself. Most of the people who criticize the Church so severely are themselves communicants of the very Church they criticize. In Italy I employed a guide and interpreter, a most intelligent and cultured man, possessed of a wonderful degree of historical knowledge. This man was most outspoken against the Vatican, criticizing it unmercifully on the most reasonable grounds. But while he thus condemned the Church and its entire hierarchy he was a devout Catholic, and when I required his services I could always find him on his knees in the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. The feeling is that religion must in some manner be preserved and that an organization is absolutely necessary to preserve its vitality. The idea of the Church is safe in Europe, for, with the exception of a few vociferous persons, the people understand the necessity of something that corresponds to it and fulfills its functions. But they have done with whatever hierarchy exists. In Italy the political pretensions of the Vatican can never be realized, in France the disestablishment will be permanent, in England the Anglican establishment is tottering to its fall. While the world is being made safe for democracy, the Church is being made safe for it also. Henceforth the people, and not a superior clergy, will have charge of their own religious affairs. And that will give us a different Church, interpreting religion in different terms, and affording different avenues for its expression into living service.

CHAPTER VIII

RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGION AFTER THE WAR

The person who sets himself the task of preparing a definite program for the readjustment of the ideas of religion and the rejuvenation of its spirit to meet the changed conditions which will prevail after the war may well be looked upon askance, for the problems are such that they can neither be understood nor solved until the war has done its worst and run its course. It is comparatively easy to dissect and to sift out the elements that are being discarded; the religious situation upon which any one can look does that for us. But to do the constructive work is more difficult; in fact we may say that it is impossible to fully cover the case, especially in the matter of developing a detailed program systematically outlined. This is true in all such cases, and it has been made the basis of conservative protests against making any sort of a diagnosis. On all sides and at all times we may hear from the conservative camp, especially from the superior clergy and the ecclesiastical vested interests, frantic urgings that nothing be said against the present order of things until one has a fully prepared system which can be automatically slipped in as a substitute. But advancing

things do not go that way, and never have. Faults always stand revealed before we know the method of correction, and the revealing is a prior necessity to the correction. Construction must follow destruction in all instances, and the diagnostician is just as important as the man who effects the cure on the basis of the diagnosis. We shall not, therefore, pay overmuch attention to the official conservatives who denounce us for recognizing the shortcomings of the present order before we are fully prepared to reconstruct it and make it perfect.

Nevertheless, we should be able to point out the general direction in which the process of reconstruction will move, and the details of the program will have to be discovered and applied when all the facts are before us and as the world goes on. Both the development and the application of the remedy must be a gradual and progressive process.

There are some, we may be sure, who will believe that no reconstruction will be necessary. Certain religious persons have always opposed reconstruction of "the faith once delivered to the saints," and they have insisted on bringing under the category of "the faith" all the matters of theology, polity, and administration. As they have refused to recognize any signs of progress anywhere, it is doubtful if even the war will be sufficient to shock them out of that attitude. If they had their way the Church would die and Christianity would be banished from the face of the earth by the natural advances of civilization. But we need give no heed to

such persons. It is as certain as the shining of the sun that our religious ideas and processes will have to be reorganized and rejuvenated if Christianity is to be perpetuated in the society of this world after this war.

It is not strange that this should be so, for all other influences will have to submit to the same process. The only thing of which we are sure to-day is that we are sure of nothing. Everything that we know is being tested in the crucible of the world war, and this includes every idea, every institution, and every influence. We cannot prophesy that anything will come out of it alive; we can prophesy that nothing will come out of it as it went in. This is true of the home. Industry, socialistic theories, immorality, feminist movements, devastation, the preponderance in numbers of women over men—these and similar influences are attacking the old conception of the home with telling force, and all kinds of propositions are being put forth to solve the sex problem in its vital aspects. Some advocate polygamy, some the abolition of marriage altogether, and, if we may believe the reports, Germany has already adopted most severe, unusual, and revolting measures to increase her population. With all of these things attacking the home, we are not sure what adaptations the future will force us to make in our ideas.

The same situation pertains in relation to education. There is a revolt against the German language, German books, and German scholarship generally, and this is likely to continue for some time after the war. When we consider the tremendous influence which Ger-

many has been exerting in the educational world, we can easily see that this protest must have an abiding effect on our ideas. Education will also be affected by the military or anti-military spirit which prevails after the war, since the schools will be called upon to support and inculcate the doctrine which is finally adopted.

We are not even sure what our morality is to be tomorrow. To-day things are tolerated and excused that would have caused a storm of protest yesterday. Profanity, liquor drinking, sexual immorality are sweeping Europe like a storm. The niceties that have always hedged the association between the sexes have been largely discarded, and the tone of womanhood has been lowered appreciably by the industrial life and the general situation brought by the war. It is extremely possible that after the war some of the things which we have always branded as sinful may be tolerated more easily, and on the other hand the reverse may be true in certain instances. In all of these departments of our life, and in all others also, changes and adaptations are likely to be made. And we need not expect religion to be the exception; in this department we are likely to see more far-reaching changes of attitude than elsewhere.

We may be quite sure of one thing, however, and that is that religion will not die. Nothing is more certain than that, and all the signs of the times confirm it. The Church might die, Christianity may suffer, but the vital principle of religion will not depart from the world. And this is true not alone because religion is implanted

deeply in human nature; the fact is evidenced by the deepest movements of our society to-day. It is an age in which the Church is attacked very roundly; it is an unchristian age; but it is not an age without religion. This war has revealed the need of God as men before have not known it. Everything else has failed. Materialism has run its course, and even the soldiers in the trenches seem to understand that the ultimate cause of this war was unbelief, irreverence, godlessness, wickedness, and the worship of matter. They, of all people, understand how badly the world stands in need of God and spiritual reality. It is the easiest thing in the world to talk personal religion to a soldier, because the subject is always at the very top of his mind ready to come to utterance; usually it is smothered or covered by profanity and carelessness, yet it is there, and he knows that there must be a God somewhere in this universe who is capable of helping this suffering world. In a real sense, in spite of immorality and anti-ecclesiasticism, the war has given birth to the God-idea. And this insures the perpetuation of religion.

Then the philosophic situation in the world is extremely favorable to religion. Tyndall's Belfast address could not get a hearing in Europe to-day. The whole attitude upon which it stood has been changed. The scientific orgy of the nineteenth century issued in a mechanistic philosophy which professed to bring all the operations of the world, the seen and the unseen, under the reign of physical force, matter, and motion. It ruled out all ideas of a spiritual world and denied

the presence of an animating principle in man. So confident did this mechanism become that it openly professed to have dethroned forever all of the tenets upon which our religion stood.

But in the latter part of the nineteenth and the first few years of the twentieth century came the great idealistic philosophers with their insistence upon Life. This confounded the mechanistic doctors, for they suddenly discovered that they had left Life out of their calculations and were wholly unable to deal with it. The result was that scientific materialism lost the place it had held and was reduced to the position of a starveling seeking shelter among the vagaries. Even before the war there were but one or two people on earth who still cared to defend this system through the reviews, and since the war broke out even they have been silenced. The war brought such things as patriotism, generosity, unselfishness, sacrifice, devotion to principle, duty, and kindred sentiments forward, and in their presence mechanism had to slink away; it had no place in its machine for such spiritual elements as these. And the people were so intent upon them that materialism was smothered. Even such a man as H. G. Wells needed nothing but this war to shock him out of his religious indifference and give him a vital appreciation of the spiritual values of the universe. To-day, if we could think about philosophy, idealism holds the field unchallenged; it held the field even before the war. And idealism is closely akin to religion; in a certain real sense we may say it is re-

ligion. It must either issue in religion, else it must evaporate into the thin air and be lost. Herein lies one of the strongest proofs that religion will not be lost out of this world.

Then religion is in the very air to-day. Men reject Christianity and they attack the Church, but they set great store by religion. The presence of so many vagaries and isms proves this. Christian Science, Russellism, Dowieism, social-serviceism, Invisible-Kingism, and the long list of cults and creeds that are pulling away from Christianity and trying to set up new religions all testify to the fact that religion is still with us, and will be with us. The soldiers have it especially, although they are about the most unchristian of the lot. They have natural religion, it has been said over and over again. And it is true. Over and over again I have heard them of their own will bring up the subject of religion, always to abuse the Church and the clergy, always to predict their overthrow, but always to end with the remark, "But we must be careful to see that religion does not suffer." I heard one man make a slighting remark about religion and he was instantly rebuked by a comrade in these words: "There's a 'ell of a lot of us as believes religion's a damn good thing for the world." And he was commended by the crowd, although practically all of them had expressed themselves unfavorably concerning the Church, the clergy, and the entire paraphernalia of Christianity generally. There are a multitude of other signs which plainly signify that religion is still in the world and that it is

attracting a wider attention than was given to it a few years ago.

But this religion is not the Christian religion. Natural religion is the best name for it. It is unformulated and undefined; it has no system and no interpretation; it implies no duties and offers no program of service. In this state it cannot exist. It will filter out into the air and lose itself, or else it will exist as a baneful influence amongst us. This natural religion, existing in the state of dreamy idealism and having no moral consciousness, will issue in positive immorality, it will unstabilize our thinking and our social action, it will give us no method of gathering up religious influences and moving them on the social tasks of life. It is in that very direction that the current is moving at the present time.

Not only is this religion not Christianity, but there is a positive and well-defined effort being made to disconnect it from Christianity and the Church, and from all other forms of organization likewise. Its leaders outspokenly prefer to have their religion drift in the air, to be breathed and felt once in a while and used for purposes of personal satisfaction and exhilaration; but they will not have it attached to a Church, or organization, they want no clergy, no propagating movement, no devices through which to develop, enhance, and cultivate it. And, strange to say, some of these leaders who thus urge base their objection to an organization to embody religion upon social grounds! In this they are worse than silly; it is the

most positive inanity to imagine that our social problems and needs can ever be solved and met by religion when that religion is detached from all embodiments through which effort and sentiment can be mobilized, multiplied, and expressed. Yet that is exactly what is proposed by the Countess of Warwick and other leaders of the new religion, which is the oldest kind of religion.

A deliberate attempt is also being made to destroy all systematized thought upon which religion rests. Theology is discarded, the Bible rejected, our doctrines repudiated, and everything that we have used to give a mental stability and direction to our faith is set aside. We are left with an odor, a sweet smell, a cooling breeze that drifts by, ■ sentiment that attracts the mind once in a while—and we are told that this is the religion of the future! It is no religion at all; it is an emasculation that cannot live, and cannot be comprehended while it does live. If any reasonable, well balanced, and ordinarily intelligent man can obtain any sensible meaning from Mr. Wells' theory of an "Invisible King," I should personally like to be enlightened by that man. I will venture the assertion that on the basis of pure common intelligence Mr. Wells himself does not understand his own writings about "a finite god," and God being youth, courage, and the like. Words without an anchor, without a message, without ■ meaning—that is what comes of most of this material that is printed as religious theorizing.

Now all of this must not be allowed to obscure the

minds and hearts of the people. Yet they have been weaned away from the Church as it has operated and from Christianity as we have expressed it. They must be drawn back—not for the sake of the Church and Christianity, but for the sake of the people and the world. This means that our religion must be rejuvenated, filled with deeper meaning, and quickened by a newer spirit. To outline the details of such a process of rejuvenation is a task which cannot be accomplished at the present time and at one sitting. The best we can hope to do is to mark out the way which such a process will be very likely to take. And that way will be found along the line of a new harmony and a new correlation between religion and theology and between religion and sociology.

When we speak of a new correlation between religion and theology we broach a subject with which it is difficult to deal, but with which some sort of dealing is imperatively demanded. It is a matter of common acceptance that theology has fallen into disrepute in these modern times. It has become the butt of ridicule and slighting remarks not only from those who might be expected to oppose it but also from ministers and Christian leaders who might be expected to uphold it. The world has moved, attitudes have changed, and social problems have taken on new phases, but theology has remained practically the same. Each contemplated advance has been strenuously opposed, and by the very persons whose position in the Church qualified them to speak for the system, and thus the science has been

effectually divorced from the life of our times. When it was discovered that conservatives would not permit a restatement or an adaptation of theological formulas the enlightened world contented itself with ignoring them. No other course was open, and so it has come about that practically no persons take theology seriously to-day, unless it be those invested with Episcopal authority, whose influence on the life of the times is nil. Many ministers, and the brainiest and best of them in many cases, no longer feel it incumbent upon them to accept the ancient creeds to which their Churches stand theoretically committed, and the laity neither know nor care that such creeds exist.

This spirit has brought about a change unconsciously. It has not, indeed, changed the statements but it has revolutionized the whole theological attitude of the Church. So it has come to pass that most of the Churches have one theology in their confessions and quite another in actual operation in the minds and spirits of the people. For example, predestination may still be recorded in certain theological treatises the authority of which has never been revoked, yet it has not the least influence in congregations that worship under the theoretical flag of Calvinism. The ancient two-nature doctrine of the person of Christ still stands, but who believes it? Its adherents have been scattered so that in the number one can find scarcely any representative people. The same is largely true of the doctrines of literal inspiration, the atonement, soteriology, and many others. The spirit of the people is abreast of

the times, but the formulated statements have drifted to the rear; so for practical purposes we might throw overboard all the formulated statements of theology which we possess and never miss them—or we may keep them and never be aware that they exist. So little interest do we have in these creeds to-day that heresy trials are practically unknown.

In this situation it surely seems as if those interested in scientific statements of the foundations of our faith would be intensely concerned for restatements that would preserve the fundamentals and again commend them to the people. But they are not. One of the strangest facts in the life of religion to-day is the fact that in the present situation the conservatives are determined to keep these formulations just as they are, in the same state in which the people have rejected them. One of the great Methodist communions recently made an attempt to restate its creed, under the leadership of its most noted author and teacher of theological works. Instantly conservatism, under the leadership of the superior clergy, put up a formidable opposition, and since the superior clergy possessed absolute power over the common clergy the movement was decisively defeated.

It is perfectly clear that religion and theology can never be harmonized and correlated again as long as this attitude is kept up. Try as we will, preach as we may, legislate to our heart's content, write for the religious papers as much as we choose—the people of a modern world are not going to take seriously again the

ancient theological conceptions which they have now forgotten.

We should not worry about such a state of affairs were it not for the fact that theology is of great and vital importance to a people. When the modern world considers theology as such a worthless remnant of the past, fit only to be discarded and serving when retained only to prevent and obscure religious values, it makes a mistake from which it is certain to suffer. Religion cannot be safely divorced from systematic statements and mental processes. Such a divorce gives us an unattached mysticism, a sentimental emotionalism that is more likely to issue in vagaries and immorality than in Christian character; this is the process through which the world to-day teems with foolish isms and fantastic religious movements of a thousand sorts. We need a systematized theology, without, however, the passion for system which possessed our fathers and which gave us some of the hard and fast doctrines which have little to commend them except that they dovetail excellently into other similar doctrines.

Now it is quite clear that the theology of the future must not make the old mistake of explaining all things, seen and unseen, earthly and eternal. If God, Christ, and the Bible do not see fit to reveal to a scientific certainty the intricacies of the atonement, the person of Christ, the time of the parousia, the nature of future punishment, the location and extent of heaven, we may be quite sure that a theology which we can build upon the revelation given us through them will fail in ex-

plaining these things. We have taken the position that theology must begin where revelation leaves off and amplify it; we must understand that theology has no function except to assist us in applying religious facts and influences to the living of our lives in this environment.

Thus our theology should reconstruct itself along lines of personality and social endeavor. Its primary function is to develop a personal religious life, to adjust this life to the social tasks and needs of a modern world, and in connection with those tasks to call out the creative genius of a religious man. It is designed to hold up before religious people, and through them to the world, the supreme value of spiritual elements, and thus enable Christian men to project these values into the various departments of this world's activity. The greatest need of the religious world to-day seems to be a new theology, a theology written from the social point of view and designed to plunge Christianity into the very midst of the struggles of this world. We know enough about heaven and hell, death and immortality, atonement and the person of Christ—at any rate we know all that we are likely to know about these things. But we do not yet understand how to live in this world. We do not know what the duties of a religious man actually are. We are actually confused about what is right and what is wrong. We must understand where this world is going and when we may know it has arrived. If theology can teach us these things it may live.

Now our task in this regard is very like that faced by the early Church; we again must make natural religion issue into Christianity. The whole world is full of religion and notions about God, duty, and salvation. But these notions do not affect life; they do not even make those who hold them better men. Upon them, however, Christianity, or any other system, must build. It is not so much a question of meeting and overcoming these things as it is a question of commending our faith to their adherents so that they may be absorbed into our body. In the process of absorption the extraneous features will slough off. Such was the process in the early Church. Christianity did not convert the world, she absorbed it. Our enemies have made much of the fact that Constantine simply converted pagan temples into Christian churches by an edict, and that paganism merged into the new religion because it became popular. The basis of this complaint is not valid for a complaint. This was the right process, whatever we may think about the methods of its accomplishment. We are not called to destroy all that differs, for we must know that these varying religions express truth and are a part of the world's search for God. Our mission is one of absorption, and we trust in the transcending superiority of Christianity to keep itself pure while it accomplishes the process of amalgamation.

While our task is remarkably similar to that of early Christianity, it is much more difficult—we can make this statement with a full consciousness of its meaning

and implication. It will be more difficult because we must commend the already familiar. We do not have the charm of novelty, the appeal of sacrifice, and the leverage of the attraction of the Christian superiority over anything else known. Here lay the power of the early fathers, here lies the power of missionaries to-day. But in our situation we have to stop a trend that is unmistakably away from us and to turn it backward toward the thing which it left. To many this will seem like retrogression, this going back. Of course the religion to which they return will not be the same in spirit, but the difference will perhaps be too subtle to be caught by the mass. And the fact that the creation of the difference will be bitterly opposed by some of those influential in the Church will make the task doubly difficult.

In the recreation of theology in the light of the problems before us the most important element will doubtless be the making of a new apologetic. Under the old method of defending and commending the faith the world has gradually slipped away from us, and it will be useless effort to attempt the task of drawing it back with these same arguments. It will require an apologetic that is preëminently social and that rests itself upon an idealistic philosophy. We may as well discontinue the process, in which many writers have recently engaged, of commending Christianity by adopting half-compromises with materialism. The science of the nineteenth century issued in a mechanistic philosophy and sadly injured religion. Its advance was not

stopped by our defenses and neither did we benefit by our attempts at adaptations. Christian leaders were quite foolish in their opposition to the advance of scientific knowledge, and when these adaptations were attempted it appeared as if we were making a compromise for the sake of saving our faces and a remnant of our system. The saviors of religion were men who labored not for religion at all, who were not even on good terms, in many cases, with the Church; men like Eucken, Bergson, James, and their fellow laborers destroyed the mechanistic scheme by upholding the tenets of idealism, and they thereby saved religion, because it cannot exist save in an idealistic atmosphere. We, therefore, are under the necessity of insisting upon the idealistic position at all times and under all circumstances. Nor must we be caught by the attractions of Pragmatism, which after all is akin to materialism in that it makes this world and its society the final test of truth. It affords us no final criterion for the judgment of reality, and in the end it will put an effectual stop to the search for it.

And the new apologetic must give us a new view of revelation and the facts upon which we base our faith. No longer can the old ideas of the Bible be maintained. Literalism and verbal theories of inspiration are thoroughly mechanistic. But we have depended upon them, and we have as yet scarcely passed away from the old proof-text method of using revelation for purposes of argument. Here again we retain in theory what has been rejected in practice; for the great body of the

people no longer regard revelation in this light, even though the Church has not yet had the courage and wisdom to repudiate the old doctrines. We can no longer maintain faith in the Bible on these premises. Literalism gives us the fantastic vagaries like pre-millenarianism, with its teaching about the apostasy of the world and the necessity for the wrecking of this social order in order to achieve the Kingdom. If the adherents of this scheme were thoroughgoing and logical they would be outbreaking sinners and criminals and they would urge crime as a duty under God, since this is the revealed and prophesied will of God; surely if God cannot establish His Kingdom until this world goes to hell, we are justified in sending it to hell as speedily as possible.

Ingersoll and other superficial infidels like him used the position of the Church in discrediting the Bible, and they would have succeeded if that position had been maintained. The Bible can be torn to pieces and discredited if we base our defense of it upon the literalistic method; it will be a happy day when this is officially recognized as it is to-day unofficially recognized. What message would Ingersoll have to-day? None! The so-called Higher Criticism, which is still a bugaboo in some quarters, has saved us by giving us a new view of inspiration and revelation, so that it is no longer necessary to dispute the accepted and demonstrated facts of science and history in order to have religious faith founded upon the Bible. And a crying need of our time is for a recognition of these newer and better views and

an educational movement which will insure their acceptance by the masses of people who affiliate with our Churches and call themselves Christian. Let literal interpretation go forever. Let verbal inspiration go with it. Then, and not until then, can we have a dynamic and intelligent faith and an apologetic which will enable us to defend the Bible before all comers. Then pre-millenarianism and its allied nuisances will disappear and a consistent and intelligent faith will come into its own.

I recently read an article in which the Kaiser of the German Empire was identified with the biblical Anti-christ because there were six letters in the name, because he has six sons, and because the number of the letters as they stand in the English alphabet, with a six placed by each, total 666 when added. Another writer has found that the automobile with electric head-lights fulfills an ancient prophecy and proves that "the end of the age" is near at hand. Another has taken the trouble to find out how many people travel on ships and railway trains in a given time, finding thereby the fulfillment of the prediction that "men shall run to and fro" and the speedy destruction of the world. Others find signs of "the end" in the growth of schools and colleges, the spread of culture, the circulation of the Bible, and a great line of other facts. And these foolish interpretations are accepted by large numbers of people because they seem reasonable according to the theory of inspiration and interpretation they have been taught. A theological school is in existence to teach

these vagaries. Such a method makes the most ingenious man the best interpreter of holy writ. And if we start from their premises we will have difficulty in refuting them. But it is needless to point out that they are bringing the Bible and our religion into serious disrepute with the intelligent world, and we are helpless because we do not have the courage to repudiate once for all these premises. There can be no apologetic which will defend the Scriptures until the tenets and the methods of the Higher Criticism are accepted. The denunciation of the Higher Criticism ought to be an offense that would bar any man from a Christian pulpit, for the historical spirit has been and will continue to be the best friend that the Bible possesses.

Now the literalists and pre-millenarian faddists will very strenuously oppose all attempts to secure a correlation between religion and sociology. Most of them look upon sociology as their foe, since the betterment of this world would defeat the plans of God and prevent the establishment of the Kingdom. I recently read an editorial in a leading periodical of premillenarianism on the subject of the liquor traffic, written in reply to a correspondent who inquired whether Christian people should patronize papers accepting liquor advertisements. The position taken was that such things are immaterial; the prohibition movement was foolish and useless, because this world was in the power of "the evil one" and the entire order must be destroyed. While a little outspoken, the editor was logical and loyal to his position, and from his spirit there emanates the wide-spread

antagonism to the social program of the modern Church.

If we ever understand that the genius of Christianity is social we will then know that no greater duty rests upon us than that of harmonizing religion and sociology. In this direction the Church has gone a long way, through the establishment of social centers and her unfaltering opposition to such institutions as the saloon, but it is evident that she has scarcely touched the rim of the problem. And she will never solve it until her theology is written from the social point of view, until she adopts the definition that the Kingdom of God is "an ideal social order," and until she puts a social interpretation upon her message and the facts on which her religion stands.

The social interpretation of Christianity ought to include several elements. The question of teleology must be settled once for all, and we must understand just what God intends with His world. Without an adequate teleological element no theology or system of philosophy can hope to secure an acceptance on the part of the race, for on it depends our whole conception of God, the world, and our own duty; it is the foundation of faith, for apart from this there is nothing for our faith to grasp. Hitherto our teleology has been personal, and has bent all the plans of the universe to the end of securing the personal salvation of an individual. The world scheme of the old theology was fantastic enough; it gave us a perfect world, then a fall into sin, then a long process of building back, and then the end of the world order at the point of beginning. Thus it

made God work in a circle and accomplish absolutely nothing except the trouble of laboring millions of years to attain what was originally existent—a perfect world. Certainly there were the values of the struggle itself for the sons of men, but so far as a real world order was concerned the plan reflected no undue credit upon the purposes of God. And the pre-millenarian variation which made the world start at absolute perfection and end at absolute imperfection was worse, for it made God positively immoral.

In all of this the war has come to help us. If Bergson's philosophy had been written after the war, it would no doubt have been completed by the addition of a teleological element, thus eliminating its glaring fault; it is to be hoped that the distinguished French thinker will now round out his system. Men now have clearer ideas of God's purposes for His creation; we realize that in spite of the untold agony the earth has, through the war, taken a mighty stride forward, and it is not too much to believe that God's aims have been furthered. Even the war has brought the world closer to Christ's ideal of the Kingdom, for His doctrine of human brotherhood has at last been accepted as the platform upon which all nations must henceforth stand—for that is the real meaning of the present passion for Democracy.

Along this line the Church must reform her thinking. We must have a teleology that is social, that does full credit to the character of God, and that looks forward infinitely. This teleology must embody a program of

human betterment, one which shall take in the interests of humanity on a grander scale than any program of which the Church has ever dreamed before. And its central element must be a practical application of the doctrine of Democracy interpreted as a part of the very character of God.

This will involve an adjustment on the part of some denominations in regard to their own polity; it will not be possible for a Church to inject into society a democratic principle while its own spirit remains monarchical. The time loudly calls for the reduction of all episcopal authority, the recognition of the principle that the Church is the laity, and that any superior clergy holds only as the servant of the people. Those invested with episcopal authority may oppose such an interpretation, yet it must be made if ecclesiastical organization is to harmonize with the tasks and spirit of the times. Recently a Methodist bishop attempted to have the Church defined as being composed of the bishops, the General Conference, and the preachers—the bishops being mentioned first and the laity not at all. The ensuing struggle between the people and the episcopacy in American Methodism is about to be won by the people; at any rate they have won all of the skirmishes thus far. And so it should be in all of those denominations which do not afford a clear and unobstructed channel for the projection of democratic principles.

The task of democratization will be for the Church a peculiarly difficult one; and yet its accomplishment is imperatively demanded to avoid an antagonism of the

spirit in the Church with the spirit of the age, an antagonism which is already felt and which will be fatal to the influence of religious organizations if accentuated. Ecclesiasticism has never been democratic; on the contrary it has openly advocated and gloried in autocracy. The people themselves have never obtained any recognition in the councils of the Church except over the opposition of episcopal interests. Ecclesiasticism seems to have an instinctive distrust of the people, and has always sought to hedge them about with safeguards and barriers; it has created an Index to determine the channels through which truth shall reach them, it has expurgated and suppressed news and reports of Church affairs in religious journals, and in a multitude of ways it has always proceeded upon the assumption that a superior clergy must be extremely careful in allowing freedom of investigation and information to the people. Even to-day there is scarcely a Church periodical on earth which has the courage to give to the people all the facts concerning the movements in the life of the Church, and allow them to form their opinions in the light of these facts.

In a recent conversation, an editor of official and public documents for a certain denomination earnestly contended that it was a part of his duty to expurgate speeches which had been delivered, when it appeared to him that "the speaker had not represented himself or when he had made remarks for which he might afterwards be sorry." The fundamental principle of the journalist, to tell the exact truth without bias and allow

the people to reach their own conclusions, has not yet reached the Church. Therefore it has not yet grasped the first element in democracy, which is confidence in the people.

On one occasion I wrote an editorial in which I denounced the anarchy and the fanaticism of the Russian Bolsheviks and declared that the Church must oppose the Red Terror. The article was prefaced by a statement to the effect that the Church was not primarily interested in forms of government, that she believed in the people, and that if it developed that the Russian people sincerely desired a Soviet government we would be content. This statement aroused hot resentment on the part of certain Churchmen; although this is the attitude of the Peace Conference, the Allied governments, and the government of the United States, these Churchmen declared that any theory which would allow a Soviet government in Russia, even if the people wanted it, was subversive.

A few years ago a large number of prominent and representative laymen in a certain denomination launched a movement for a greater degree of democracy in their Church and for a reduction of episcopal power. Their aims were set forth in a pamphlet, bearing the names of all the sponsors of the movement, which was rather widely circulated. The result was a strong protest upon the part of many ecclesiastical leaders, and the movement met the almost unanimous opposition of the Church press. And the basis of much of the denunciation heaped upon the movement, and the laymen who

were urging it, was not the lack of merit in the cause itself, but the fact that the men had published and distributed a pamphlet!

These are indications of the fact that there is an inherent tendency somewhere in the Church to distrust the people. It is a survival of autocracy and partakes of the very essence of Prussianism. In such a day as this it is imperatively demanded that the people be taken into the confidence of the Church, that all the facts be placed before them and all the power be reposed in them. Otherwise it will be impossible to avoid a conflict between the Church and the spirit abroad in the world. Having repudiated autocracy in government, men will not longer tolerate autocracy in their religion.

Our religious organizations are now under the necessity of providing an expressional agency through which religion can be interpreted into service, and the very first step should be a program of religious education which will reach the last member of the last congregation. Religious people have never been able to profoundly influence society because most of them have been wholly untrained. Their ideas of the Bible will not stand the tests of intelligence, and as long as they hold such ideas, they will be open to the attacks of rationalism; and many of them will continue to throw over their faith when they at last discover that their old notions cannot be defended. Shall the Church continue to allow her people to confuse such notions with fundamentals? Shall she continue to oppose giving to her people those modern interpretations which her lead-

ers know to be true? It must not be! We need above everything else in the Church a clear and frank recognition of the historical approach to the Bible, and an educational scheme which will give the method and spirit to all the people.

Along with this there should go a plan of social effort which will include an answer to two questions: What is a Christian? and What must a Christian do to be saved? Neither of these questions can be answered by the American Church to-day, even though there be detached spirits who fully understand their implications. At the present time religious standards have been so lowered that there is very little difference between a "Churchman" and a "sinner." Most of our Churches make few distinctions; I have known preachers to move heaven and earth to obtain or keep for their membership persons known to be immoral, and that without any thought of their reformation. I have known preachers to support in a political campaign a candidate backed by the saloon element because, forsooth, he belonged to their denomination, when the opposing candidate was being fought by all immoral agencies and enjoyed a national reputation for integrity and law enforcement in public office. In a world with such a keen moral consciousness as that which now prevails, the Church will display a great unwisdom if she does not look to her standards and make it impossible to truthfully say that there is no difference between those inside and those outside the fold. There should be a revival of preaching from the text, "What do ye more

than they?" We are about to lose the value of a human soul, and it were better to lose any other value than that. It can be recovered through a social gospel, one that rests human values not only upon the eternity of the individual spirit but also upon the strategic importance of the individual in the social scheme of God.

Give us also a new missionary message and understanding. Now we know as never before that men are mutually dependent, that our duties are not bounded by racial or national lines, that the world is a small place inhabited by those who are brothers. In the missionary program of to-morrow there must not be the idea of saving a soul in heaven which might otherwise be lost in hell; neither must it be inspired by motives of denominational aggrandizement. Let it be lifted into the realm of world reconstruction and be made the leading element in the civilizing of the earth. Include in the missionary enterprise all social movements and ideas, and in pursuit of this the Church will have a policy worthy of these days.

The truth is that nothing except missionary activity can save the world in the present crisis. The social order in a great part of the world has been wrecked and must now be rebuilt. Upon the nature of the reconstruction depends the weal or the woe of the Church for many centuries to come. If the world attempts to leave God out of the new order it will mean what it meant during the French Revolution—a reign of terror and anarchy. And in the present situation—with godless Bolshevism rampant in all lands, with a citizenship con-

fused and sad at heart, with wide-spread destruction and poverty, with a constant trend on the part of the people away from Roman Catholicism toward rationalism—there is very great danger that such an attempt will be made. Surely it will be made unless the Protestant Church of America has the courage to project everywhere the sanest and the most far-reaching missionary program the world ever knew.

The world is intoxicated with democracy. It is to be tried everywhere, and the people seem to believe that when democracy is applied to all the evils and ills of society the Millennium will be ushered in. This is, to be sure, a step in the right direction, yet democracy is the most dangerous experiment which has ever been tried. Theoretical ideas of democracy will never save a people or make the world safe and civilized. Mexico has a democracy, yet she menaces the peace of the world. Russia has a democracy of a kind, yet she wanders in anarchy and confusion. China is a democracy, yet she is unnumbered among civilized nations. Why are these lands not safe? It is because the citizenship is not of such a quality that democracy can rest upon it. Three-fourths of the people in Mexico could not read the Bible even if they had it to read. Seventy-five per cent. of the Russians are ignorant. Nine-tenths of the Chinese are illiterate. It is rather startling to reflect that in China there are three times as many people who cannot read a line as there are people of all kinds in the United States. And no democracy can stand that rests upon a citizenship which is illiterate. Now the

whole world is to try democracy as a magic something which can cure its ills and evils. Yet more than half of the people in the world are unable to read and write a word of any language. In this situation the world which trusts simply to democracy is riding upon the shoals.

When we consider this state of affairs the duty of the Church appears perfectly plain. That duty is to make sure that Christian culture and enlightenment prevail everywhere. It is ours to place under the democratic forms and conceptions of the world a citizenship which is educated, a people whose radical tempers are stabilized by Christian morality and wisdom. Unless this is done there will be universal Bolshevism, constant confusion, more wars, and the eternal threat of anarchy.

We may trust the people to organize their governments when the people know what Christian culture means. We will be free from the menace of the Bolshevik when individual people are regenerated and educated. But so long as they languish in the densest sort of ignorance no stable government can be erected upon them, and there can be no peace for the world. Let us have democracy, but for the sake of the future the democracies must be safe for the world. And they will be safe only when they are Christian.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHALLENGE OF THE WAR TO THE CHURCH

When the war broke out it brought immediate confusion to the Church. War always brings such confusion, because it is the negation of the Christian message of good-will and loving fellowship. On this the Church has stood for twenty centuries and the world has accepted the doctrine as an ideal; so universally had this ideal come to be acknowledged that many believed Christianity had been able to weave its spirit into the social order so thoroughly that wars had become impossible. Then the unprecedented catastrophe came, and all the preaching and influence of two thousand years was negatived in a day. It seemed as if the earth had officially forsaken the Christian platform.

It is said that Mr. H. G. Wells, at the outbreak of hostilities, spent some time in the graveyard of a country church, reflecting after this fashion: "Here is the most influential and respected of all human institutions, and it stands upon a platform of brotherhood. It operates throughout the civilized world, and no community is apart from its spirit and message. Why has there not emanated from this institution a power which

would have made this war impossible?" And because he could not answer the question Mr. Wells conjured up a fantastic religion of his own.

Out of the general confusion arose the cry which we have heard so oftentimes, "Christianity has failed." The rationalist press took it up and made it into a far-flung propaganda. Christian apologists did not reply, because in the general confusion there were no clear visioned prophets to speak. To say that it was a righteous war was to make no reply at all, for this was conceded on all hands; it was conceded on both sides, for the Christian Church was as influential in the Teutonic countries as in those lands mobilized under the Allied banners. Two sets of Christians sent prayers to the same God for exactly opposite favors, invoking His support for irreconcilable principles. The crux of the situation did not concern the justice or the injustice of the issues involved; it was the stark fact that in all the centuries of Christian history our religion had not persuaded the nations that brotherhood was a practical principle in international affairs, and that there was a better way of adjusting disputes than that of resorting to force, bloodshed, and barbarism. The Church was powerless against such a charge of failure as this, for it bore its truthfulness on its very face.

As the war progressed the confusion deepened, and there grew up in Europe a positive antagonism to the Church. For this there were various reasons. The Church really had no message for the times, and this was a source of disappointment even to Christian people.

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The war came so suddenly and so unexpectedly that the religious forces of Europe had no time for preparation, and when suddenly confronted with the crisis they were powerless to meet it with a dynamic pronouncement and program. The Church continued to preach the same old platitudes, and the people who flocked to the shrine when the carnage began failed to find the hope, the solace, the vision which they desired. They found only sermons urging patriotism, demanding enlisting, and justifying the nation's course, the very same things they were hearing everywhere else. And so the increased congregations so apparent at the beginning soon diminished.

Then the doctrine of prayer began to be discounted. We had taught a theory of prayer which caused people to believe that there was a special providence for those who prayed and for those whose friends prayed for them, that its benefits were physical and objective, that it could actually change the mind and purposes of God. Never has there been so much praying as during the opening months of the war. But the course of events soon exploded that theory of prayer. The praying soldier fell by the side of the one who knew no God to whom he could pray, and the sons and loved ones of millions of devout people were laid to rest in Flanders Field with the friends of atheists, infidels, and sinners. So they began to doubt the efficacy of prayer, which meant that they doubted everything they had been taught about God. Their trouble, to be sure, was with a mistaken

notion of prayer, but it was the only notion the masses had ever been taught.

Then there came about the wide-spread reign of wickedness, a social condition most terrible and one which even to-day threatens the welfare of society and the very future of the race. In regard to this situation the Church did nothing. There was no attempt to correct the evil, no effort to save the people. She stood perfectly helpless in the face of such a condition of immorality as Europe had never known before, and appeared so out of touch with life that she did not even realize into what a state the world was drifting. By this apathy, this inaction, this lack of message and machinery for such a crisis, she contributed still further to her own undoing and the general dissatisfaction.

Again, the actions and attitudes of the Church towards the war were not calculated to add to her influence, especially in England. While all other classes of the population were taken into the army, the young clergy were exempted from service; and the exemption was insisted upon by the leaders until an antagonistic public sentiment had crystallized, and then it was too late to undo the evil. The hierarchy of the Anglican Church gave support to the liquor traffic, and encouraged immorality by advising soldiers to marry, for the sake of the race, before departing for the fronts. They angered the military chiefs by an alleged interference with training and discipline through opposition to athletic games on Sunday in the camps, and they infuriated the general populace by their stern objections to a policy of

reprisals against German cities when the enemy murdered helpless women and children by air raids on undefended towns.

At the same time there grew up the opinion that the head of the Roman Catholic Church, which is the controlling religious force in many of the warring countries, was pro-German and desired the defeat of the allied cause. There were many foundations for this prevalent belief. The Roman Catholics in Ireland, openly led by the leaders of the Church, connived with the enemy, staged a revolution in the most serious moment of the war, and absolutely refused to allow conscription. In Canada and in other dominions of the British Empire the opposition of the Catholic element to the war and conscription was so marked that rebellions were feared. The Pope refused to denounce the invasion of Belgium specifically and dealt only in platitudes relative to the unspeakable outrages of Germany, even when perpetrated on Catholic peoples; his peace effort embodied a proposal entirely satisfactory to the Central Powers, but which none of the Allies could accept. It was known that the Pope cherished a deep hatred against Italy and France and expected no favors from England; on the other hand he was closely linked to the Hapsburgs of Austria, some of the German states were officially Catholic, and through the Centrum they exercised a practical balance of power in the Empire. Therefore, if he hoped through the war to obtain a recognition of temporal authority, it was evident that all of his interests lay with the Central allies. And when

it was discovered that the virtual head of the enemy spy system in Italy was in the Vatican, an ex-officer in the German army whom the Pope had elevated and retained over Italian protests, the suspicion deepened into a conviction.

In this situation the lot of the Church was unenviable. Owing to her divisions it was impossible for her resources to be mobilized and moved against the problems created by the war even if there had been any clear recognition of the character of such problems. Aside from furnishing chaplains, who were taken out of her hands the moment they entered the army, there was little for the Church to do in a coöperative way. There was no distinctive responsibility which the government could entrust to her; the work which the Church would otherwise have been expected to do was given to welfare agencies, because the Church proper had wasted her energies and rendered herself impotent by internal dissensions. Even in America it was necessary for the government to actually go to the extreme of forbidding the doing of distinctive work in the camps by the Church.

These are the counts against the Church, all weighty and all reflecting upon her a degree of blame. Let us frankly recognize this. There is, however, another side to the case. Accepting fully all the condemnation which can justly be assigned to her, the Protestant Church, especially in America, where many of the strictures against the European Church do not apply, has a right to be heard in reply. Her preachers have nearly

all been patriotic and self-sacrificing in their devotion to the national cause, and they have perhaps done more than any other class to consolidate the people with a deep conviction of the justice of the allied cause. She has stripped herself of preachers in supplying men for chaplains and workers in the various welfare organizations, furnishing to such organizations more workers perhaps than any four or five other trades or professions combined. Behind them all stands the spirit which is the product of the Church, for she has given to the world the atmosphere which makes welfare work possible. Even the liberality of the nations, through which they have obtained their millions, comes from the Church; if it is not a sound argument to point out the fact that most of this wealth has come from religious people, it remains true that her long teaching and training in the matter of stewardship and generosity has been the leading element in the large giving on the part of the public.

Nor is that all. While the fundamental principles of Christianity may have been somewhat negatived by the war, these same principles are still the most influential factors in the war. Whence came the spirit of horror which swept the world when the war broke out, the revolt against cruelty and outrageous conduct even in the strain of the conflict, the resentment of the world against a nation which broke its plighted word? These things are reflections of the conceptions of fairness, love, and brotherhood, which religion has spread abroad in the lands. Why is democracy the slogan of the world?

Why do nations strive to show that they were not to blame, that they have no motives of conquest, that their aims are altruistic? Why do they insist that the rights of small and helpless nationalities shall be conserved? These are new things under the sun, and they emanate from the Christian attitude which the Church has projected into society. For democracy is nothing more than a political application of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. This is the proper field for the operations of the Church, and here her failure has been only relative.

But the Church obtains small credit for her work when it reaches the point where it is recognized as so necessary that the governments must take it over. This is notably true in the great systems of public hospitals and public schools; few people think of giving the religious organizations of the world credit for these things which were begun by them. So it is perfectly natural that the world should overlook the values which she has projected into the seething world and center criticisms against her blunders and the helplessness connected with the uncompleted parts of her program. The failures, so called, of the Church are simply the fields which lie beyond.

What lies before the Church now, with the coming of peace? Her entire program lies before her, broadened and magnified a hundred fold by the greatness of the present hour. Evangelistic power, educational genius, missionary vision—never was there such a demand for them. The challenge to the Church to-day

is mightier than it has ever been at any other moment of the world's history. When Christ gave to His friends the great commission to preach the gospel to every creature, the specific responsibility upon them was not greater than the specific responsibility now upon the Church. It not only comes out of the world's need, but it concerns her own life and self-preservation. And it is not too much to say that if she fails to respond on a scale commensurate with the needs and visions of such a time as this the days of her influence and her life are numbered. In a world of human need—a need for the very things which the Church has always professed to be able to give—she stands, criticized, doubted, ridiculed, and condemned. The eyes of the earth are upon her in anxiety, in hope, in suspicion—but hardly in expectancy. If the Church is to save herself and the world, the effort she must make will go far beyond the dreams of the men of a past generation.

We can obtain an idea of the task before the Church by visualizing the world situation, for the task must be a world task in such a day as this and it must relate itself to all the needs of all the people of all the nations. In a world survey, what do we find? The whole earth in ruin unspeakable. Under little white crosses lie millions, representing the best blood and brain of the world. Millions of homes are bereaved, children are orphaned and left without hope in the world, refugees wander in droves about the face of the earth without places to lay their heads, unnumbered hearts are torn and bleeding with unspeakable grief.

The fairest fields of France and Belgium are devastated and ruined. Towns, cities, and villages are blackened piles of shapeless débris, with rank weeds where happy children used to play and the silence of death where industry used to hum. Homes, mills, mines, factories, farms, stores—all these are gone, and their places have been taken by ruin, death, and shallow graves. Churches are but shattered piles of stone, art treasures of priceless value have been swept into nothingness, colleges are closed or wrecked, and all the processes of spiritual culture have been stopped.

Nations have starved themselves in the struggle. Raw materials have been shot away and wasted, while debts have accumulated which may not be paid in a thousand years. Immorality and vice hold sway in all the towns and cities of Europe and the people have all but forsaken and lost their moral consciousness. And the souls of men, women, and little children are charged with hatred and venom. It were impossible to think adequately upon the moral, spiritual, and physical wreckage which the war has spilled upon a suffering world.

The world must be rebuilt, and upon a surer foundation. There is no comfort for the sorrowing, no hope of future peace, if Christianity is left out of the rebuilding process. We must reconstruct upon a Christian basis. Into the process we must inject the spirit of Christ, and the values of a Protestant faith must be woven into the very warp and woof of the new social order. There are orphanages, schools, hospitals, benevolent movements, Churches needed in every land of

Europe, and only American Protestantism can provide and maintain them so that their influence will become a vital part of society.

With all due respect to the Roman Catholic Church, we know it to be inadequate for the task, and yet this faith controls many of the stricken lands. It stands upon a platform of ignorance, suppression, and extortion. It is avowedly autocratic in its very nature and the sworn foe of democracy. Its hierarchy believes in and thrives under such intrigues and diplomatic chicanery as made this war possible and unavoidable. By its disgraceful action in the war it has lost its grip upon the people to such an extent that its hierarchy is now respected in no nation of the earth. If European society is left with no religious influence save that which this Church supplies, it will be rebuilt without any recognition of God; France tried such a rebuilding once and the world obtained a lesson concerning the danger of a Godless social order. It must not be again.

In France, Belgium, and Italy the Protestant faith now has the chance to measure steel with Roman Catholicism with all the advantages except actual occupation in its favor. That these lands are breaking away from the Roman Church is well known. In Italy it is impossible to bear the body of a dead Pope through the streets of the eternal city to its final resting place lest the people fling it into the Tiber, and in France the influence of rationalism and freemasonry, practically unaided by Protestantism, was able to make the government throw off the trammels of the establishment. Belgium,

always loyal to the Church, deeply resents the complacency with which the Pope viewed her destruction. These people all remember that the Pope induced England to grant to Germany a respite from air raids on a holy day and then allowed Germany to use her own air fleet, freed from the necessity of protecting the border for the day, to destroy a Church in Paris and kill the worshipers and to bomb London on that same Sunday night. Protestantism never had such an opportunity to take Europe for her own as that which is to-day presented to her. For while Europe turns against Catholicism she turns towards America; she has seen the unselfish labors of the welfare agencies in the allied armies and has come to believe that American Christianity means altruistic and loving service. In a certain place an American soldier was killed and his comrades desired to bury him in the local cemetery, but the request was refused by the priest on the ground that the man was a Protestant and would defile consecrated ground. He was accordingly buried just outside the wall of the cemetery, and the humble peasants of France gathered to witness the ceremony. And in the darkness of the following night these peasants returned, tore down the wall of the church-yard, and rebuilt it around the grave of the sleeping American boy. If the simple peasants of France think more of a dead American than of the traditions of their Church and the dictations of their priests, may we not hope that America will be able to give them the liberal gospel of the Protestant religion?

One of the greatest calls of the present hour is that

which comes from the Slavic peoples of Russia, Serbia, and those nationalities which constituted the old Empire of Austria. Greater in extent than all the rest of Europe, mighty Russia to-day wanders in the blindness of the worst kind of anarchy, harassed and oppressed by murderous and perjured Bolshevik fools, who play upon the helpless ignorance of the masses for the furtherance of fanatical schemes and personal aggrandizement. To respond to the call of Russia means not only to save a people and to reinstate a nation in the ways of orderly government; it will also enable the Church to take this people for the Protestant faith, and to draw out from them a dynamic of spiritual force which will do much to establish the kingdom throughout all the world.

There is a sense in which we may say that Russia really won the war for us. Never for a moment did she falter in her loyalty to her Slavic kinsmen in Serbia, it was her mobilization in the beginning which occupied the almost exclusive attention of Germany, and by her advance she kept from the west in the most critical days a great Teutonic army. If Germany could have thrown her full strength in the west the resistance of Liège could not have held her, Paris would have fallen, France would have been rendered impotent, and the Central Powers would doubtless have come off victorious. In a very real sense, then, we may say that Russia saved the world from all the agony which would have been entailed by the triumph of Prussianism.

Let us not forget that the Russian people were whole-

hearted in their support of the war. An unwilling government confessed to Germany that Russians could not be restrained; the prospect of seeing Serbia humiliated and oppressed aroused them to fury and they were resolved to fight. And they fought heroically and well, but under handicaps the like of which a nation had never before been forced to face. The Czar was a weakling surrounded by traitors; the Czarina was a German by birth and instincts, and in every possible way she intrigued with the foe against her own people. We read of private wires leading from the palace at Tsarskoe Selo direct to German headquarters, over which went constantly news of troop movements and military plans; and to a friend in Berlin the Czarina wrote, "Give my best greetings to the brave Hindenburg; it is horrid to be compelled to sustain an anti-German attitude when one knows that our Fatherland is unconquerable, even though the Russian flag be bathed in blood." The will of the unspeakable Rasputin was law at the court, and Rasputin was an agent of the Hun. In the highest posts of the government sat men like Boris Sturmer, the Prime Minister, Kurloff, the Minister of the Interior, and the notorious Protopopoff, all paid tools of Germany, and the government deliberately planned confusion in the army, revolution at home, and victory for the foe. So completely was the situation given over to Germany that she could and did actually demand that a successful offensive be stopped and all communication between Russia and her allies be broken off. In this situation, what remained for a patriotic people but revolt?

They turned on a traitorous government, drove it from power, destroyed the autocracy, and endeavored to place in its stead a government of the people.

To be sure they found themselves at sea. The transition from the most absolute kind of autocracy to a free government could not be made in a day, in the midst of a great war, and by a people wholly ignorant of the principles of government. Ground down and oppressed as they had been for time out of mind, they craved liberty unrestrained, and in their ignorance they were ripe for socialistic schemes of the most radical sort. The pendulum swung too far and they found themselves in the clutches of Bolshevism. But the Bolsheviks do not represent Russia. They are Jews, crazed and maddened by untold persecution, and they are out for blood and vengeance; Russia can never struggle to her feet until the heel of the Red is lifted from her neck. But fools cannot always rule such a people. Sooner or later Russia, perhaps reduced in territory and surely chastened in spirit by her terrible excesses, must take her place among the nations.

To-day Russia needs everything which a people ever need. An orderly government must be set up. Food must be given to her millions. We must send her implements and teach her to use them in the development of her wonderful resources. The people should be supported and guided back to the ways of decency and placed upon a firm basis of democracy. Above all, she needs to be educated. Her people are ignorant, and hence a prey to all the vices of which ignorance is the

prolific source. She needs the Protestant religion, and without it she will never be wholly free. The only religion Russia knows encourages the very ignorance which has cursed her and imposes an ecclesiastical tyranny quite as severe as the political autocracy from which she has escaped; only western Protestantism will establish the schools which she needs, and in order to complete her salvation it will be necessary for the liberal and powerful ideas of the Protestant faith to permeate her life and leaven her society. Perhaps it is not the province of the Church to send food and implements to Russia, but it is surely her province to send religion and education, hospitals and benevolent institutions. And nowhere else in all the wide world is there such a crying need for these as in Russia.

The very character of these people makes Russia an inviting mission field for the Church. It is a mistake to judge them by the acts of a Bolshevik. The Russian is religious by nature, and no person lives so constantly under the influence of spiritual ideals and motives. None has such a clear realization of the presence and demands of God, none has a higher appreciation of spiritual values. The very career of Rasputin is proof of the desires of the people to touch spiritual reality—and not only the poor and ignorant; because of this inherent instinct the mock monk was able to seduce some of the noblest people of the nation. The genius of the Russian is remarkably like that of the old Hebrew, who saw God in rainbows, storms, victories, adversities, trees, and mists upon a mountain top. From such a people

sprang our religion; from another such will come the spirit which will fill it with new meaning and power.

One who wanders about over Europe to-day will meet hundreds of Russian refugees, and he cannot fail to be impressed with their idealism and innate spiritual culture. They are the greatest linguists of the world, and they have a wonderful appreciation and knowledge of literature and music. There is in London to-day a refugee who has been driven through five nations; her jewels, her wealth, her family, have been lost, but she still retains some volumes of poems in beautiful bindings of hand-tooled leather. There is another who is deeply pained at the sight of great mansions, because they are too large for the families occupying them and their very presence brings up thoughts of the east end, where thousands huddle together in apartments too small for comfort. There was another who preferred suicide to the prospect of living until the close of the war in a disagreeable environment, and her philosophy was this: "To die means physical suffering and does not affect the soul, while an oppressed spirit means unhappiness and the dwarfing of personality. A Russian believes that the soul is worth more than the body. The American professes to believe that also, but a Russian believes it strongly enough to act upon it."

That these people are superstitious, socialistic, and ultra-idealistic is quite true, but they need only the guidance of a liberal and intelligent faith, and the stabilizing influence of a Church with a social message. A Protestant Russia is a large ambition, but on such un-

dertakings the Church has always thrived. The consummation is necessary to Russia's future, for if the spiritual genius of this people must continue to be dominated by either Greek or Roman Catholicism it will mean further superstition, ignorance, and oppression; to attempt such a continuance will stifle the new democracy which is trying to find establishment in the conceptions of the people. And this they will not easily tolerate. Eventually they will come to understand the conflict between their religion and their national consciousness—they are coming now to understand it—and then their religion will suffer. If there is no other faith to supplant it in their affections they will be likely to believe that the Bolsheviks were right, and religion will be thrown overboard entirely—and we know what that will mean.

What shall be said of the other branches of the Slavic tree? In a window on Regent street and Piccadilly Circus there is a streaming banner which reads, "Bohemia, Britain's Ally," and underneath it is a great picture of John Huss, the protomartyr of the Reformation; it is a typical indication of the spirit of the Czechs. Even though an almost total ignorance of this people prevailed among the masses in America, they were recognized as a co-belligerent nation with the Allies and the United States; and although they had no home and no national capital, the mere enunciation of their desires was sufficient to change the entire attitude of the Allies, as expressed by President Wilson, towards Austria-Hungary. Peace conditions which were laid down be-

fore the emergence of the Czecho-Slavs and the Jugo-Slavs at once became obsolete when these people proclaimed their ambitions for freedom.

And now we hear of them everywhere. Their voice shook the fragile foundations of the House of Hapsburg until it tottered and fell; that voice tore asunder the Dual Monarchy and liberated the suppressed sentiments of the varied nationalities contained in that polyglot empire. Czecho-Slavs and Jugo-Slovaks, Magyars and Teutons, all seek self-determination, and it seems likely that as many nations as there are constituent races will emerge from the old empire of Franz Joseph.

The land of Czechs is the geographical center of Europe, an equal distance from all European seas, and these people have the lowest proportion of illiteracy of all the provinces in the constituency of Austria-Hungary. They have inhabited this section since the sixth century according to historical certainty, and the scholars believe they have occupied it since about 500 B. C. These people have been Christians since 873 A. D., and they would have been Christians before had not their distrust of the German impelled them to wait until the Moravians came to teach them. They have been Protestants longer than any other people of Europe, and they have suffered more for their faith in Protestantism than any other. They produced John Huss and bore the agony of the Hussite Wars; the Catholics made war on them because their Nobles declared, "We will defend the law of our Lord Jesus Christ and its pious, humble, and steadfast preachers at the cost of our blood,

scorning all human decrees that may be contrary to them."

The Czechs lost their independence and came under the hoof of Austria at the Battle of "Bila Hora" (White Hill) on November 8, 1620, and since that time they have been victims of oppression and intolerance. The first act of Austria was to destroy all the books printed in the language of the Czechs, because all such contained heresy; the next was to execute, on June 21, 1621, all their leaders and confiscate the property of their sympathizers. All the Nobility were exiled, Protestants were expelled, Catholicism was set up, the clerical estate was added to the three estates then existent and made superior to all others, and the German language was established by force. Thus matters have stood for four hundred years. In all their vicissitudes during these centuries the Czechs have always been victims of an insidious and powerful German propaganda, but they have never faltered in their contentions for constitutionality, as opposed to autocracy, in the Austrian parliament.

No persons have done more to secure an open Bible in the vernacular of the people than the Czechs. In the fourteenth century, Thomas of Stitney wrote his theological works in the native language, and for this he aroused the bitterness of the monks, who insisted on the use of Latin, unreadable by the people. Around their language has been waged the fiercest of conflicts. Always the Catholics have hated it; always the Czechs have clung to it. In all the movements and spirits of

the Reformation these devoted peoples have been the leaders, and to them the Protestant forces of the world owe a great obligation.

For 400 years the Czechs have been the victims of religious bigotry and political oppression, for of course Austria would not be kind to the descendants and followers of John Huss, whose spirit still breathes through this people and is the source of their inspiration. The famous fifth regiment of the Czech army bears his name, and an American traveler who recently visited the leaders of this army in Siberia found on the wall of a freight car in a troop train a wonderful painting of Huss at the stake, executed by a private of the fifth regiment who had formerly been a famous artist in Vienna. This is the spirit of those men who have at last secured their freedom. And when they secured it they hoisted no red flag, espoused no Bolshevism, turned loose no anarchy. Although a scattered people, without a land of their own or any seat of government, they elected a President and proceeded to organize for an orderly and civilized existence.

The settlement of these people into a national existence will afford an unique opportunity to the American Church. They have a claim upon us, for they furnished the cradle of Protestantism, and their loyalty to Huss shows the strength of their religious convictions. Already they have drawn upon our resources, for many of the American missionaries in China, Japan, and Korea have been called from their fields into service with the Czechs in Siberia, and certain hospitals have

sent their entire staffs and senior classes to undertake relief work among the soldiers and refugees in Vladivostok. These missionaries, according to their report, "found such conditions as would stir any man with red blood in his veins. Through the perfidy of the Bolshevik Soviets, urged on by the Germans, and the continuous fighting all across Europe and Siberia, the Czechs were, through lack of medical attention, in a most pitiable condition. It seemed necessary to undertake responsibility for entirely supplying the medical arm of the Czech army." In addition to the need of the Czechs, hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled through Siberia to the Pacific and clamor to the missionaries for help.

The Slavic people, then, constitute an inviting missionary field for Protestantism, and the help which the missionaries already are rendering to them in Vladivostok and Siberia is preparing the field for a more intensive cultivation. The Church should undertake the task, not only for the sake of the peoples themselves but even for her own salvation. We of the west have become commercialized and self-centered; there are already evidences that the war has not cured us. Even the soldiers of France seem sorry for the Americans, because they say we cannot rise above our interest in mere things. We need to be saved from our worship of the physical, and the Church shares this need with all other departments of our activity. The best way to save ourselves is to kindle elsewhere a different spirit. The Slavs have it. If we will give the idealism of the

Russians and kindred peoples free play under the influence of a liberal faith, we may expect to see come from them a wave of spiritual appreciation which will sweep the world.

If we add to the challenge which is thus brought to the Church by the new problems created through the war the tremendous missionary demands which were already existent before the war in China, Japan, Korea, Africa, India, South America, and elsewhere, demands which have been made a hundred-fold more urgent by the events of the past years, we will obtain a glimpse of the duty of the American Church toward the foreign field, for whatever missionary work is undertaken in the world at the present time must be carried out largely by American organizations. And then if we add to all that the challenge of the home land—our cities, industrial populations, immigrants, rural communities, negroes, and all the social problems entailed by their needs—we should be able to understand that the Church never faced such a task as that which lies before her at the present time.

Before this challenge she must not draw back in such a time as this, and if it be undertaken the Church must plan and act on a scale so large that it would have staggered the men of the past generation. Where we once expended hundreds we must now pour out millions, and divisions, petty insistence upon trivialities, the ambitions of ecclesiastical leaders and organizations must all be laid aside and forgotten. There is no other way out for us; the task must be undertaken or the Church will

lose her influence in the life of our time. The Christian leader, or the ordinary Christian man, who balks at the program, or who refuses to cast his attitude and his liberality on such a scale, is the real enemy of the faith and must have no place among us.

Once the duty of a Christian man seemed to be summed up in the necessity of "being good"—the religious man was one who behaved himself, went to Church, and prayed. But in four years the ideal has been forced infinitely beyond that. To the world, and especially to the millions of men under arms and who will return to dominate affairs in all nations, religion now means unselfish devotion, loving service, complete sacrifice of self and possessions in doing good.

Who is the religious person in the minds of the soldiers? The Salvation Army lassie or her kind. The religious man is one who is willing to brave the dangers of a modern war in order to scrub floors and do drudgery for his fellow man. He is one who is willing to toil over shell-swept roads, to sleep on the ground in a front line trench, to clamber over a parapet to be with his friends in death and danger—to bare his breast to death and place his naked human spirit against the guns of a whole world in order to be a friend to man. He is a man who places no value upon himself or any thing he may possess, who counts his life as of less value than a chance to be a brother. He is one who gives all and risks all just to help a little in his own way. That is what a religious man means to a soldier who has seen such men in the mud of the front line,

in a gun emplacement deep in the earth, carrying stretchers or supplies across a field of death, kneeling on the blood-soaked ground with his canteen to the lips of a dying friend. And to them a religious institution means something which can inspire the motives under which such men act, and which will pour out its millions to supply the means whereby such men can render their full quota of service.

How puny will religious men and institutions of the average type appear when these return and look at them! How small visioned will appear the Church with its old program of preaching and paying assessments! We need not expect men who have saved a world in the mightiest movement of human history to be content with an average Christian, an average religion, or an average Church. The day of such averages as we have known is forever in the past.

CHAPTER X

THE GERMANS AND THE TURKS

It appeared somewhat incongruous in the beginning that there should be an alliance between the Germans and the Turks, for a surface view of things inclined us to believe that the two races were absolutely incompatible. The Turk is known through history and around the world as the "Unspeakable." He is the bloodiest, most cruel, and most villainous pagan on earth; his instrument of propaganda is the sword and his most characteristic act of worship is the spilling of human blood. He hates Christianity with a deadly hatred, and in all the ages of his occupancy in Europe or in Asia his misrule and his outbreaking criminality against Christ and His followers have been a standing source of amazement to the civilized world.

On the other hand the German has boasted around the world about his standing in the sight of God. The German Church bolstered up the doctrine of the divine right of the Hohenzollerns. The Germans have assumed that they are the chosen of God and enjoy a monopoly of His favor. "Germany is precisely—who would deny it," preaches Pastor H. Francke, "the representative of the highest morality, of the purest hu-

manity, of the most chastened Christianity. Its defeat, its decline, would mean a falling back to the worst barbarism." Pastor W. Lehman remarks that "Germany's fight against the whole world is in reality the battle of the spirit against the whole world's infamy, falsehood, and devilish cunning." It is the doctrine of F. Philippi that "we execute God's almighty will, and the edicts of His justice we will fulfill, imbued with holy rage, in vengeance upon the ungodly. God calls us to murderous battles, even if worlds should thereby fall in ruins. We are woven together like the chastening lash of war; we flame aloft like lightning! like gardens of roses our wounds blossom at the gates of Heaven." "Is God the God of these others?" asks a noted preacher, with reference to the enemies of Germany; and this is his answer: "No; they serve at best Satan, the father of lies." Another insists that "the German soul is the world's soul, God and Germany belong to one another." This is the way Pastor J. Rump, in his "War Devotions," looks at it: "The kingdom of God must now assert itself against the kingdom of all that is base, evil and vile: the kingdom of light against the kingdom of darkness. Against a world of superhuman evil, the power of superhuman justice, truth, and love goes out to battle. We stand on the side of God, but all God's adversaries will find that God will not be mocked. We have become the heirs of Israel, the people of the Old Testament covenant. We shall be the bearers of God's promises. Verily the Bible is our book. It was given and assigned to us." "As was Israel among the heathen,

so is Germany among the modern nations—the pious heart of Europe,” says Pastor Tolzien in “My German Fatherland.” The Kaiser speaks of “Me and God” with pious unction, always placing, in speech and attitude, the “me” before the “God.”

These quotations, which could easily be multiplied a hundred times, establish the point: The German regards himself as the elect of God, the center of God’s plan, the embodiment of His kingdom, the possessor of His favor. Of course, they show another thing to us, viz., that the Germans under the dominion of such beliefs are a nation of swell-headed and sacrilegious fools who ought to be exterminated for the general good of civilization. But for our present purpose it is enough to draw the conclusion that they are ultra-pious and assume an air of superiority in all the elements of the Christian faith.

This was the people who, at the beginning of the war, raised a great hue and cry because Japan happened to be an ally of England. “England stirs up against us the yellow Jap” went thrilling around the world, and the manifesto signed by the leading lights of German scholarship depicted the backset which the Christian missionary enterprise would suffer because of this alliance. But in a few more months Germany entered into an alliance with the Unspeakable Turk. Instantly the devotion of the German scholarship to the welfare of Christian missions waned. The emperor, ranking member of the “Me and God” combination, paraded and smirked in the uniform of a Turkish gen-

eral, and a general séance of connubiation was entered upon.

It was a strange alliance to the rest of the world, but the Germans saw no inconsistency in it at all. So far as the German scholars, self-appointed protectors of Christian missions, were concerned, it was a perfectly logical combination. The Turk is not nearly so vile as the Jap! They forgot instantly that before Turkey entered the war Pastor Tolzien had vehemently denounced Germany's opponents because certain Mohammedans were serving in their armies. And, in order to satisfy the consciences of people who might be struck by the contradiction of the German-Turkish alliance, the scholars set about the task of explaining the matter. The duty fell to the lot of Professor W. Hermann, professor of theology at Marburg, who settled the question in his pamphlet, "The Turks, the English, and We German Christians."

The ancient hatred between Turks and Christians, he believes, rests upon a great misunderstanding. "It is true that the Mohammedans do not know the Old or the New Testament, and Mohammed did not respect Jesus. Yet they are in some respects superior to us. It is a stupendous feat that this religion should in so short a time have spread from India to Granada. Another point is that the Turks have been unified by their religion, the Germans have not. The main thing, however, is this, that the faith of the Turks assures them that God ordains everything, and is the reality in everything. The word Islam means exactly

the same as the Biblical word faith: that is, complete self-surrender. As Goethe said, when this became clear to him: 'Then we are all of us, in reality, believers in Islam!' But Mohammed also maintains that we are free and responsible for what we do, wherefore God will judge us all; and in this too we agree with him. On no account must one suppose that the Mohammedan belief in God is only a belief in an inflexible fate. No; it is also a belief in God's wisdom and goodness. There is certainly this difference, that only by looking to Jesus can we Christians find courage to hold such a faith. Nevertheless we must maintain that we stand near to the Turks in our faith—only they have not recognized the right foundation of the faith they hold. But we Germans can help them to that. . . . We Germans can obey, so can the Turks. Just because we believe in unconditional obedience, we Germans feel ourselves at one with the Turk, and divided from the English. See how barren the spiritual life of England has become! Amongst its statesmen there are, indeed, artful, cool men of business, and reckless men of violence, down to the criminal type, but not a single deeply pious man, capable of appealing to the hidden springs within his people. This is the reason why the mastery of England was felt as a nightmare by the world. But now that Germans and Turks are to have their way, things will be different. . . . The German nation is certainly at the present time the instrument of the spirit; but it is on the spirit itself that all depends, the right fear of God, the will to serve, faithfulness to one's mission.

And this spirit we find also in the Turks. It is this which, in the last analysis, unites us." (Bang: "Hurrah and Hallelujah," 170-173.)

So this settles it. The Turks and Germans are not so radically different after all. This is a truth which I have long suspected, and it has recently ripened to a deep conviction, and I am glad to find that the Hun's own scholarship confirms my view of the case.

The Germans, then, have a clear conscience, and once the conscience is clear their spirits can respond freely to the natural elements of character which draw them together—German and Turk. So the Kaiser proclaimed a holy war on behalf of the Turks, and while Islam murdered, starved, butchered, drowned the Armenian Christians, Kultur stalked through Belgium and France, outraging women and children, sinking neutral ships, bombing hospitals, deporting citizens of the devastated regions, forcing women to dig their trenches, and committing depredations which have horrified the civilized world. Naturally, "we Germans feel ourselves at one with the Turk, and divided from England."

Traveling in France recently, I secured some of the circulars posted by the German commanders in the various towns and villages which they overran in France and Belgium. A few extracts from these circulars will perhaps be illuminating: "To the Belgian People: It is to my very great regret that the German troops find themselves compelled to cross the Belgian frontier. They are acting under the constraint of an unavoidable necessity, Belgium's neutrality having been violated by

French officers who, in disguise, crossed Belgian territory by motor-car in order to make their way into Germany. . . . I give formal pledges to the Belgian population that it will have nothing to suffer from the horrors of war, that we will pay in gold for the provisions that must be taken from the country, and that our soldiers will prove themselves the best of friends to a people for whom we feel the highest esteem. Von Emmich." "Notice. All the inhabitants of the house, with the exception of children under 14, and their mothers, and also of old people, must prepare themselves for deportation in an hour-and-a-half's time. All appeals will be useless. Any one attempting to evade deportation will be punished without mercy. Etappen Kommandantur." "Proclamation. The Tribunal of the Imperial German Council of War sitting in Brussels has pronounced the following sentences: Condemned to death: Edith Cavell, Teacher, of Brussels. The sentence passed on Edith Cavell has already been fully executed. The Governor-General of Brussels brings these facts to the knowledge of the public that they may serve as a warning. The Governor of the City, General Von Bissing." "Proclamation. In future the inhabitants of places situated near railways and telegraph lines which have been destroyed will be punished without mercy (whether they are guilty of this destruction or not). For this purpose, hostages have been taken in all places in the vicinity of railways in danger of similar attacks; and at the first attempt to destroy any railway, telegraph, or telephone line, they will be shot imme-



GERMAN PROPAGANDA

"IN THE TRENCHES—'BEHOLD, I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS'"



GERMAN PROPAGANDA

"AT THE ADVANCE POSTS—'I AM THE GOOD SHEPHERD'"

diately. The Governor. Von der Goltz." "Notice to the Population. In order sufficiently to ensure the safety of our troops and the tranquillity of the population of Reims, the persons mentioned have been seized as hostages by the Commander of the German Army. These hostages will be shot if there is the least disorder. On the other hand, if the town remains perfectly calm and quiet, these hostages will be placed under the protection of the German Army. The General Commanding." "Proclamation. Inhabitants of both sexes are strictly forbidden to leave their houses so far as this is not absolutely necessary for making short rounds, to buy provisions or water the cattle. They are absolutely forbidden to leave their houses at night under any circumstances whatever. Whoever attempts to leave the place, by day or night, upon any pretext, whatever, will be shot. Potatoes can only be dug with the commandant's consent and under military supervision. The German troops have orders to carry out these directions strictly, by sentinels and patrols, who are authorized to fire on any one departing from these directions. The General Commanding." "Order. To the People of Liége. The population of Andenne, after making a display of peaceful intentions towards our troops, attacked them in the most treacherous manner. With my authorization, the General commanding these troops has reduced the town to ashes and has had 110 persons shot. I bring this fact to the knowledge of the people of Liége in order that they may know what fate to ex-

pect should they adopt a similar attitude. General Von Bülow."

Comment on such proclamations as these is unnecessary. They throw an interesting light on the German declaration that "amongst English statesmen there is not a single deeply pious man, capable of appealing to the hidden springs within his people. Now that Germans and Turks have their way, things will be different. The German nation is certainly at the present moment the instrument of the spirit."

With these things before us, we would naturally expect Germans to be wrathful when Jerusalem, the holy city of Christianity, was wrested from the vile Turk. At this event a thrill of joy ran around the world; it became the subject of optimism everywhere. The Pope has forbidden any Christian to lift his hand in an attempt to restore the holy city to the Turk, and faithful Jews are happy and hopeful in many lands. All Christians are happy save the Germans, the self-acclaimed Superchristians. Professor Delbrück has already proclaimed that the city of the Cross must again be restored to the Turk, and an appeal has been issued to the Zionist Jews to rally to the cause of the German and Turk to help them raise the crescent over the ancient city of David again. This appeal to the Zionists is perhaps the most ridiculous manifesto which the Germans have put out during the war.

Closely allied to this is the action of Dr. Adolf Deissman, professor of theology in Berlin, in abjectly pleading with some of the Christian scholars of Europe to

use their influence in securing a modification of the terms of the armistice imposed upon Germany, after having, at the beginning of the war, given expression to such sentiments as the following: "The German God is not only the theme of some of our poets and prophets, but also a historian like Max Lenz has, with fiery tongue and in deep thankfulness, borne witness to the revelation of the German God in our holy war. The German, the National, God! . . . Has war in this case impaired, or has it steeled religion? I say it has steeled it. . . . This is no relapse to a lower level, but a mounting up to God Himself." "It is a persistent struggle for possessions, power and sovereignty that primarily governs the relations of one nation to another, and right is respected so far only as it is compatible with advantage." "In the age of the most tremendous mobilization of physical and spiritual forces the world has ever seen, we proclaim—no, we do not proclaim it, but it reveals itself—the Religion of Strength."

The religious genius of the German peoples peculiarly fitted itself into the facts of this war and lent itself readily to the methods with which the war was waged. The religious life of the German Empire in the past few years has been rather sharply divided into two classes. First, there is the political Prussian state Church, the most dismal orthodoxy on earth. It preaches a thirteenth-century gospel and stands for a medieval theology. It is this orthodoxy which has bolstered the Emperor in his declaration of "divine right," and which caused him as late as 1903 to intervene in a theological

discussion, in the course of which intervention he declared that his own grandfather had been the chosen of God. Under the benign influence of a state Church, the German Empire has the distinction of being the only nation of Christendom to adhere to the very last to the outgrown notion of the divine right of kings. This German orthodoxy retains the old Hebrew Jehovah as its God, a God of battles who has chosen Prussia from among the nations and assured to the Germans a monopoly of his favor. The preachers have referred to him as "dwelling above the cherubim and seraphim and the Zeppelins!"

Edmond von Heyking, once a German consul in New York, referred to God as "our great Ally, who stands behind the German battalions, behind our ships and submarines, and behind our blessed militarism." Pastor W. Lehmann speaks of the German "defending God against the world," to the end that "the German soul," which is "God's soul," "shall and will rule over the world." Pastor Rump of Berlin issued a volume of "War Devotions," through the pages of which he fed the soldiers on such a wholesome diet as this: "We shall permeate, in the name of God, a world which has become poor and desolate." "We have become the heirs of Israel, the people of the Old Testament covenant. We shall be the bearers of God's promises." "The Bible is our book. It was given and assigned to us, and we read in it the original text of our destiny, which proclaims to mankind salvation or disaster according as we will it." Pastor Tolzien believes that Germany is, "as

was Israel among the nations, the pious heart of Europe." Dr. Preuss, Licentiate of Theology, preached that "the thief who expiated a sinful past by his repentance in the last hour, and was outwardly subjected to the same suffering as our Lord, is the type of the Turkish nation, which now puts Christianity (outside Germany), to shame." This is German orthodoxy.

On the other side of her religious life, Germany has the most advanced and reckless liberalism of the world; her rationalism in theology is as severe as her orthodoxy. Any person who is at all familiar with the theories of German scholars with advanced theological ideas can tell the opinions of such scholars on any question in the domain of their science without having reference to their works, because these scholars invariably go to the last extremes of rationalism. They have declared most of the scripture writings to be unauthentic, they have banished miracles entirely, and they have reduced to the vanishing point the divine element in the nature of Christ. And these are not the so-called "free thinkers"; they are the leaders of German theological thought.

So far, this is not an unusual situation, since we have both extremes here in America. We have rationalists as "advanced" as any German. And we also have a group of literalists whose mechanical views issue in pre-millenarianism, an orthodoxy as dismal and ancient as anything boasted by Germany. But neither of these extremes exerts any appreciable influence in the religious life of America. The difference is that we have a middle ground, while Germany has not. She knows noth-

ing of such an influence as that of our great Protestant denominations, which take account of changing conditions and incorporate all the ideas and discoveries of advancing knowledge without going to the absurd and unwarranted extremes of infidelity. Such an influence is so utterly unknown in Germany that the greatest scholar and philosopher of the land, Rudolf Eucken, when he discovered that the Church and a religious life are necessities and that neither Germany's orthodoxy nor her rationalism could contain the religious aspirations of the race, jumped to the conclusion that the whole organization of the Church must be overthrown. He had no conception of a progressive mean being already in existence, because his horizon was bounded by the confines of the German Empire.

Now what did that situation mean? It gave us the great war; orthodoxy as well as rationalism is to blame for it. Both contributed to making the people lose God; the one gave them a false conception of His nature and the other caused them to lose His morality and His vital influence as dynamic powers in human life. Both, from opposite standpoints, gave the people an external God, and so both were ready for the war: the orthodox because God willed it, the rationalist because there is no moral God to care. The one made the state the supreme end of God's purpose, as the Israelites did; the other placed the aims of the state above God's moral purposes. And when this had been done religious Germany was ready for the war, or for anything else. So when Belgium was invaded both could march side by

side, the one believing that the German God willed it even as the Israelitish God ordered the extermination of the Canaanites, and the other not having any relationship with God which enabled them to know that God took any interest in the matter. In both cases the state was supreme and common morality might be cast to the winds.

And so I believe that the religious issues of the war will be the destruction of both orthodoxy and rationalism. Never again will men be able to commit crimes in the name of God. The passing of the greatest of all earthly calamities must leave the world politically and religiously better. Democracy and freedom will prevail throughout the world and autocracy can never return, while the superficial clamors of those who are forever seeing the world going to hell and Christ returning will be silenced. Out of the changing order there seems destined to issue a more vital religious faith than anything we have ever known before.

CHAPTER XI

AMONG THE TOILERS

The person who visits Europe with his eyes open in these days will soon understand that the people are being born. Democracy is in the air and the commonality is coming into a standing which it never before possessed, for the world realizes that the ultimate man is the toiler and is according to him a new respect. To-day in Europe the laborer has a greater respect, more money, and more influence than he ever had before. One morning I chanced to glance through the "want ads" of a daily paper and the notice that caught and held my attention was this: "Wanted, a piano and a high-grade player by a lady munition worker with the ready money." A day later I saw this advertisement reproduced by another paper under the heading: "The Modern Plutocracy." And I chanced to overhear a conversation in a tea room between two elderly ladies in which one of them complained that these munition workers had purchased all the good pianos so that it was impossible for "the better element" to obtain one. Previously I had waited over an hour in a shoe store before I could make a purchase, and at last the shoes I bought were fitted to my feet by a young lady; the

manager explained that the government had taken ten of his twelve salesmen and it was practically impossible to accommodate the customers. Everywhere could be seen posters begging for men and women to accept positions of various kinds, and it was easy to understand that no person need be idle if he had the least inclination to work. He could be employed for twenty-four hours each day and seven days in the week if such were physically possible, and at wages higher than he could have obtained anywhere before the war.

Thus I became intensely interested in the life of the workers in the warring countries and set out upon the quest for fuller information concerning them. I found that there was no problem of the unemployed for the simple reason that there was no such class to create a problem, except as it might have been made up of a few who would not work under any circumstances. Of course there was a scarcity of workers; it could not have been otherwise with such an army in the field. And this scarcity, together with the great increase in munition works and allied industries taken over by the government, had set in motion the competitive machinery which had boosted wages to such a point. The workers were no more dominated by the altruistic and patriotic spirit in war times than they had been in the days of peace; they were out for the cash and did not hesitate to take advantage of the severe situation in order to better their own condition, being spurred on in this by their unions and the agitators.

I welcomed gladly an invitation from the govern-

ment to pay visits to the various munition factories. Up at Gretna there were twenty thousand young women making great shells, at Woolwich still more were working in the arsenal plant turning out the great field guns, and at Enfield I watched them making the famous Enfield rifle and rebuilding German machine guns to be sent back and turned against the former owners. The commandant in charge of one of these plants told me that a certain group of workers, which he designated, who were by no means the most highly paid in the factory, earned by piece work more than \$40.00 per week and that most of the women were making three times as much as they had ever made before. These amounts seem very large to the English workers and they are happy, even if they are not contented; it would be difficult to make them contented, which is perhaps a good thing for society all around.

I observed that the conditions under which the people live have been appreciably improved, although their machines did not seem to be well equipped with safety appliances. The cleanliness of the plants and the perfect order which prevailed were particularly noticeable. There were few hotels maintained in the munition centers, and I found the commandants more or less opposed to their establishment, but the dining rooms are all very clean and the food is wholesome and cheap. I was at Enfield at the noon hour. The workers eat in shifts of 5,000 each, the men dining separately from the women, and at the sound of the whistle the first 5,000 came trooping out,

their coats on and their hands washed. I asked if they were allowed to "knock off" a few minutes early to perform their ablutions, and the commandant replied: "They are supposed to run their machines until the whistle sounds, but as a matter of fact they are like all other workers—they keep their eyes on the clock." Here I visited the savings bank, in charge of a clergyman, and found that the energetic campaign he had introduced to educate the people in the matter of economy had been so successful that thousands were laying up a surplus.

How were the poor being affected in their homes and personal life by the war? This question occurred to me so insistently that I resolved to make some excursions into the east end in order to investigate the social life in these conditions. I started from the neighborhood of the great Methodist community center on Commercial Road. Under the escort of the social workers from this mission I secured a knowledge of the neighborhood and was ready to begin my prowlings.

First I was anxious to visit some of the public houses, the "poor men's clubs," as they are apologetically called even in England, in the evening when the gayety was at its height. Here I encountered difficulty, because the restrictions thrown about the traffic in liquor had caused a great reduction in the jollity of the east end; some of the "pubs" were forced to display a sign early in the afternoon informing their customers that the allotted supply of ale had been exhausted for the day. But I found a place which usually held back during the day-

light hours that joy might be unconfined in the evening, and this establishment I resolved to visit. I strolled in early in the evening, about ten o'clock. It was filled with a motley crew, moving here and there in the dense clouds of tobacco smoke, standing at the bar, and sitting at the tables. There were a few sailors, one or two soldiers, a couple of men in civilian clothing, and perhaps twenty women; the women outnumbered the men more than two to one. It was the most revolting scene I had thus far encountered. The vile language of the sailors, almost equaled by that of the women, the thickness of the smoke, the stench of the atmosphere laden with ale-fumes, the familiarity of the bar-maids, and the general lowness of the environment was quite repulsive. At first I was the recipient of many suspicious glances in this "pub" and felt exceedingly uncomfortable, but the knowledge of the friends who were escorting me and the expenditure of a few shillings on "drinks for the crowd" seemed to reassure those who at first resented the presence of a stranger in the camp. We fell into a jolly party over there in a corner—a soldier, a sailor, and three young women. These girls were fairly intelligent, and a short conversation served to dispel the impression that I had formed concerning them. They were not at all the class of womanhood I had expected them to be—the kind they would have been if they had been found in an American saloon. The three were wives of soldiers at the front and one of them had accepted employment in a munition factory. They smoked cigarettes incessantly and drank their "stout" with the

confidence of confirmed toppers, and they were filled with wonder that I should be there and yet refuse the taste of their ale. To them this public house was a social institution, and they frequented it with the same assurance that an American girl would visit an ice cream parlor. They were by no means immoral yet.

"It seems to me that the government would prohibit the sale of intoxicants during the war," I ventured.

They glanced up quickly and scrutinized my face. "Let 'em," they exploded. "They've took our lads, an' they've took our bread, an' they've took our sugar, an' they've turned off the light. Now will they tike our ale?"

"But, you know," I continued, "the lads cannot fight when they drink much ale, and its manufacture is the waste of grain that should be used in bread."

But my logic was lost on the party. They were deeply resentful and insisted on keeping their ale whether the war was won or not. "We might as well 'ave the 'un as to 'ave no liberty left any'ow," was the conclusion of the whole matter.

When the crowd dwindled somewhat and but two of the girls remained I asked them what they were doing at the "pub." One of them spoke for the other. "Ye see, sir, me man 'e's out there and 'as been out there these months and I've 'ad never a glimpse of 'im. Me heart was so lonesome and I was terrible afraid 'e wouldn't come back again. An' what did the government give me but a pittance? I had to find friends to keep me poor heart from breakin', an' so I comes down

to the pub in the evenin' to be 'appy. If I stayed at 'ome I'd go ravin' mad with the fright and the worry."

"Do you go out with the friends you make here sometimes?" I inquired warily.

"Ye wouldn't blime me if we went to a show now and then, would ye? I don't mean no 'arm, and if me 'usband knowed 'e wouldn't blime me neyther, 'cause when 'e left he told me to 'ave a good time and not be miserable."

I went away from that public house deeply impressed. Indeed, I could not "blime" them if they sought a respite from the horror of a lonely room somewhere, and the "pub" was the only place where such a respite might be found. But what would it lead to? I could picture to myself a thousand ruined girls and wrecked homes, and that many soldiers returning to blasted firesides—and all because of the public house. And under my breath I cursed England for a land without a conscience, selling the blood and hearts of her people to a group of brewers, some of whom wrote M. P. after their names and occupied places, directly or indirectly, in the government itself. In time of war these "pubs" should have been the first to feel the righteous indignation of an outraged people and should have had meted out to them the death which they have deserved so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. For the girls to whom I had spoken were not exceptions; they were representative of multiplied thousands whose ruin is being accomplished by the liquor traffic while "the 'usband is out there."

Now I went to the "Mahogany Bar." It was once the most noted music house in the east end but has been turned into a social settlement. The concert hall is now an auditorium of the mission, seated with rough benches in lieu of the tables and chairs that once were used. But the trapdoors are still in the floor. These doors were immediately under the chairs at the tables in the good old days, and it was an easy matter to dump a drunken sailor into the cellar without overmuch confusion; once in the cellar and the formality of robbing him, even to the taking of the clothing that covered his body, had been completed the unfortunate was carried by underground passages to the street several blocks distant. When he awoke in the morning, if indeed he ever did awake, he knew nothing of the passage through which he had been carried, and since he was found far from the resort it was a difficult matter to fasten suspicion upon the place. The superintendent in charge of "the Bar" told me that even now, since the resort has been converted into a community kitchen, he frequently finds nude sailors lying in the alley close by, having been robbed during a spree the night before.

Then I went to "Paddy's Goose." This was in former days another noted music hall, and it has likewise been changed into a mission—it is a branch of the Stepney mission, like the Mahogany Bar. "The Goose" obtained its name in an interesting way. There is an immense metal swan mounted over the door on the roof, and it one day became the object of a heated discussion between a "bouncer" named Paddy and one

of his compatriots; Paddy insisted that it was a goose and his friend was quite convinced that it was a swan. In the course of events Paddy was forced to vindicate his position by force of fists, and he did this to the entire satisfaction of the party of the second part. After that, no one dared to deny that the figure was that of a goose, and the resort retains the name of "Paddy's Goose" to this day. Here there are no trapdoors, but the patrons had the convenience of a draw-bridge which, when lowered, spanned a court between the "Goose" and some nearby buildings; in this way the friends of the establishment could escape in times of stress, and unfortunate sailors could be carried far from the scenes of their excesses. But the mighty have fallen! Like the Mahogany Bar, Paddy's Goose is now a mission of the Methodist Church, and here is carried on a great round of war-time activities and benevolent service. The conversion of this place has been celebrated by George R. Sims ("Dagonet") as follows:

I stand awhile to muse and glance,
Where Jack of old would sing and dance.
I pause and hear sweet sounds within
The old-time haunt of shame and sin;
And gentle voices softly raise
To God their songs of prayer and praise.
Good folks have turned to Christian use
The devil's temple—"Paddy's Goose."

"In the days and nights when the drunken sailor of the world reeled along the highway from the dram-shops to the dancing-rooms, and from the dancing-rooms

to the back alleys and courts of Artichoke Hill, where they were always robbed and sometimes murdered, 'Paddy's Goose' was accepted as a characteristic British institution. And now the old 'White Swan,' which was 'Paddy's Goose,' is a meeting-house of the Wesleyan East End Mission. The 'Old Mahogany Bar,' which was almost as notorious as the 'Goose,' has been converted—converted is a happy word—into a center of religious and social uplifting."

"What is the social effect of the increased wages the working people are now receiving?" I asked the superintendent of Stepney.

"In many instances it is good," he replied. "Frequently the additional money is expended for better quarters, clothes, and food. Some of the people have moved out of the old neighborhood and are taking their places in a better social environment, while there is a marked improvement in the matter of amusement and recreation. But this exodus is from the ranks of the more steady element, and in nearly all cases it removes some of the workers at our missions. It is gradually leaving us without workers and members, but of course we are glad to struggle along in our poverty if our people can be improved."

I called to my side a beautiful little girl whom I found in the mission. She had formerly lived near, but her parents had removed to other sections when the prosperous times came upon them, and now the little girl was visiting one of her friends among the social workers. "And how do you like your new home?" I

asked her. "I don't like it one bit," she emphatically exclaimed, "and I wish I could come back down here. Why, I have not seen a fight since I left, and the Bobby comes down the street all by himself!" In the old environment she had been accustomed to seeing the policemen going about in pairs for protection.

It is not always the case, however, that more wages brings more comforts to the home. Often it only affords more means for enjoyment at the public house. If the worker is not steady in his habits, if he frequents the saloons with any degree of regularity, his increased pay nearly always means more ale and dissipation. And in the end this will mean more misery at home and the loss of his new prosperity.

Everywhere it is evident that a great upheaval is going on in the ranks of labor. The unions are becoming more aggressive and the socialists are exultant. The workers are determined that they will not go back to the pre-war conditions, and they are organizing to make good their claims. But many voices are calling to them, and the course of the socialistic agitator is besetting them. They should have a care lest these "reds" lead them astray into a radicalism that will prevent the reforms that should really be made permanent. Once I clambered up some rickety stairs to find the editorial sanctum of a radical labor journal. Those in charge are a socialistic, irreligious horde of agitators who are moving heaven and earth to make the workers demand more benefits than they are now receiving and to set in motion the machinery that will enable them

to retain such benefits after the war. "A Pound a Day"—that is their motto, and this pound a day for the workers is to be guaranteed by the state and paid through a system of conscription of wealth. The state must own all industries, and then these industries must be placed in the hands of the workers. The House of Lords is to be abolished, along with all titles—an excellent reform, by the way—and an industrial department or chamber of the government is to be created to take its place. The soldiers must receive a living wage and be given complete self-government, while wives and all others engaged in household duties are to receive regular wages. There must be political rights for all persons regardless of sex or condition and the workers are to be closely organized to prevent another war.

Certainly this is a comprehensive program, and the agitators boldly announce that this is but the beginning. Most of the details will be likely to end at this beginning, for I do not find that the movement is taken seriously by the people at large and no great per cent of the workers themselves are enlisted in it. The agitators sought to succeed through the organization of a Soldiers and Workers Council, an idea no doubt borrowed from the Russian revolutionists, but recent events in Russia have perhaps served to blast the hopes of those who pinned their faith to the methods there adopted. But out of it all there will come a more democratic England. It is the day of the people. They are just being born. And their birth is the greatest need of Britain and all the other nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XII

A HERITAGE OF HATE

The most deplorable effect of the war is not the destruction of property or even the tremendous sacrifice of human life; it is, rather, the storm of bitter hatred which sweeps the world and fills human hearts with its poison. It is perhaps inevitable that in a struggle so fierce and prolonged as the present conflict, antagonism of the most intense degree should arise, but it is somewhat shocking to find that nations deliberately and officially seek to cultivate and instill such venom into the souls of their people. Most people seem to believe that such sentiments are not only unavoidable, but that they are also necessary and salutary, in that they secure solidarity of opinion and public support for the war. It is argued that men will fight better and civilians will sacrifice more if they are made to despise the people against whom their country battles. One side of this argument, however, seems to be negatived by the fact that the soldiers do not hate nearly so fiercely as they fight, and that the people at home possess almost a monopoly of the venom. This is the theory, however, upon which Europe is proceeding, and it is destined to bequeath to the people a heritage of hatred which will adversely affect the na-

tional character for two or three generations and prevent fraternal intercourse between the people of the nations now pitted against each other even after peace has been declared.

Germany led the way in this propaganda of hate. The world was rightly shocked when the Germans published their "Hymn of Hate" against England, for it showed a side of the Germanic character which most of us did not know existed. And since that time it has been amazing to witness the deliberateness with which this nation has encouraged her people, even the children in the schools, to hate the foe—especially England, since England's entrance into the war effectually blocked the plans of conquest which the German military machine had so carefully laid. If any efficiency comes from it, surely this nation has reaped the full benefit. Men who were known around the world as the exponents of the purest idealism—men like Eucken, Deissman, Harnack—at the beginning of hostilities threw to the dogs their lifelong principles and sent out manifestoes and pronouncements so absurd and bitter that they amazed the world; Eucken's deliverance on "The Perfidy of England," for example, is the negation of everything this philosopher has taught in the course of his long life. The Germans have sung their Hymn of Hate, they have spread stories of English surgeons plucking out the eyes of the wounded and prisoners, they have exulted and celebrated when their aircraft have raided defenseless cities and destroyed hospitals, their preachers have declared the will of God demanded the

destruction of the enemy, they have prayed that their shell-fire might have divine direction, they have declared that the man who cannot put away pity is no true Christian, and they have denounced as anti-German the person who felt sympathy with the murdered innocents on the *Lusitania*. All these things they have done while the world stood in amazement, and Germany has fought so furiously because of the venom that rankled in the hearts of these people.

Germany, with official sanction, deliberately stirred up her people to hate America, Americans, and everything American; she stamped "Gott Strafe England und America" on her currency, she draped the Stars and Stripes with a border of crêpe, she printed a bloody hand on the Declaration of Independence, she struck a medal in caricature of President Wilson and Uncle Sam and another to celebrate the sinking of the *Lusitania*, she published a newspaper for the express purpose of carrying on a propaganda against the United States, and she insulted our citizens and diplomatic officials in her borders—and all this while we were at peace with her. And all the while her poets, singers, teachers, philosophers, scientists, writers, theologians, and preachers were breathing forth denunciations so vile and calumny so bitter that they inflamed the hearts of the populace with a hatred hitherto unknown in the world. As we read these statements, which are reënforced by the doctrine that Germany is the "kingdom of God on earth," that she is the center of God's plans, that the Bible is her peculiar possession, that the sufferings of Christ were

the types of the present suffering of the Fatherland, and that all others outside Germany constitute the hosts of Antichrist, we cannot repress a shudder at the cold-bloodedness of this campaign of hatred. (These teachings are reproduced for us in the American government's publication, "Conquest and Kultur," "Germany's Madness" by Reich, "Gems of German Thought," compiled by William Archer, and especially in "Hurrah and Hallelujah," by Dr. J. P. Bang.)

We must not, however, imagine that the Germans have a monopoly on hatred and that the Allied nations return good for evil in this regard. It is true that they have not cultivated the spirit as a national policy nor given official encouragement to it as have the Germans, nor is their hatred nearly so venomous as that of their enemy, to judge from the evidences in our possession. Among the Allies it seems to spring mainly from the lower orders of society, instead of from the upper strata as in Germany. And in spite of it all the Entente have kept themselves within bounds and have conducted the war according to the established usages, while the Germans have been guilty of barbarities and atrocities which have shocked the world. Nevertheless there blazes in Europe the most intense hatred of Germany, so widespread and universal that one who presumes to question or deplore it at once lays himself liable to the suspicion of disloyalty.

On one occasion I chanced to voice the dismay with which I beheld such hatred to a prominent French journalist in Paris. "Why should we not hate

the Germans?" he answered quickly. "Consider the things they have done, the outrages they have committed without provocation. Does not this war and all that it means justify hatred of the people who caused it? Wait until your American casualty list begins to grow, and then you will hate them as cordially as we. Anyway, how can you support a war without making the rank and file of the people hate the enemy so heartily that they will endure any sacrifice in order to exterminate him?" I was of the opinion that it were more preferable to support the war by pure patriotism and loyalty to righteousness and truth. But they cannot see the matter in this light; the doctrine of loving one's enemy has been thoroughly repudiated in this war, and the imprecatory Psalms are at last vindicated from a mass of calumny which has been cast upon them.

All over Europe I saw signs in the windows of the business houses informing the people that no native of an enemy country is in the employ of that firm; my hotel in London displayed this placard: "No German, Austrian, Bulgarian, or Turk, whether naturalized or not, is in our service." Names of streets, parks, towns, firms, and even families have been changed because of their German origin or sound. There has been an agitation in London to change the name of Jermyn street because its pronunciation reminds one of "German." I was informed that the all-British manufacturers of a certain well-known brand of Egyptian cigarettes had suffered severe reverses because of the Turkish sound of the name, and many factories have been forced to



"LE VIEUX DIEU ALLEMAND"

THE FRENCH CONCEPTION OF THE GERMAN GOD

abandon the names under which their products had long been made and popularized. These things reached the height of absurdity when the King of England, German to the core in his ancestry, went to the extreme of changing the name of his house. One woman advocated to me the theory that all persons with German blood—"from royalty down"—should be interned, while it is nothing unusual to hear men insist that in order to save food the armies should take no more prisoners. I was crossing the Channel one night and learned that a certain passenger was of German extraction. This fact I unwittingly revealed to some of the voyagers, and it instantly created a sensation on board; "Good God," exclaimed an officer in a horrified tone. The matter was duly reported to the military officials at Southampton, and although the man was a native-born British subject, and although his credentials were all in good shape, he was detained at the port and was in custody when my train left.

In Rome the populace regards one end of the Quirinal Palace as tainted, and I was told that the King would no longer occupy it, because it was used by the Kaiser on the occasion of his visit to Victor Emmanuel. There has even been a demand for the destruction of the magnificent marble statue of Goethe which the Kaiser presented to Italy and which stands in the Park of Rome, and this demand became so insistent that it was necessary to throw about the statue a cordon of soldiers. One day I was in the Vatican galleries looking upon a painting which depicted a thrilling battle

between the ancient Romans and an army of Huns under the terrible Attila, and when I remarked upon the beauty of the picture to a man standing near he replied: "They were the only people who knew how to treat the Germans."

These little incidents, and such things occur daily in all parts of Europe, so much so that if one kept a record the number coming under his observation would soon number into the thousands, indicate in a small way the deep-seated nature of the prejudice and bitter hatred which has taken hold on the hearts of the people. I do not hesitate to declare that this is the most unfortunate phase of the war—none the less unfortunate because unavoidable and necessary. We can repopulate the world more quickly than we can eradicate from human character the baneful results of such sentiments. All over Europe little children have their souls filled with the venom of hatred, and one grieves to think of the effect which this condition will exert on the budding life.

There is in England a large and influential Anti-German Society which was established for the avowed purpose of carrying on a relentless crusade against all things German—and there is a powerful French society, with its solemn watchword, "Remember," which exists for a similar purpose. In the first place, this society undertook the task of bringing about the internment of all the Germans in the country, "whether naturalized or not." They were ferreted out carefully and were diligently observed for any clew upon which a

charge of suspicious action might be hung; sometimes it was no more serious than using the German language; and so successful was this campaign that practically all who were in any way connected with an enemy country are to-day prisoners. Their business connections have been ruined, their properties confiscated, and even the German Churches have been taken over in some places. The next move was to turn the guns upon the German language, and there arose a widespread protest against the inclusion of this language in the curricula of the schools. This movement met with some opposition, however, and I encountered a book, written by a professor whose task was the teaching of this language, strongly opposing the movement.

But in spite of this antagonism the German prisoners of war in all lands of the Allies are well treated and seem perfectly content with their lot; they are indeed the happiest people I encountered in Europe. They sing as they are marched in from the fronts, and they wear the most genial of smiles as they work in the various camps or on the streets. They surrender very readily, and none of those I encountered displayed the slightest desire to get away from their present environment. The treatment these prisoners receive is in marked contrast to what they have been told awaited them should they fall into the hands of the enemy; it is also in marked contrast to the treatment accorded by the German authorities to the prisoners who are so unfortunate as to be taken by them—witness the case cited by Ambassador Gerard wherein certain German townspeople

If I did I would print it in the biggest type I could find, and in spite of the D. O. R. A. and every other influence which prevents honest men expressing their opinions, I would denounce him from one end of the country to the other. And at the same time I would write the name of the prisoner in letters of gold. For Charles Ridge is a hero. He knocked down a dirty German prisoner who spat at him and said, 'If a German spits at me again I shall knock him down again.' Bravo, Charles Ridge! We are proud of you.

"Every one has read with burning shame the case of Charles Ridge. He is lame; he has served in the Mercantile Marine, in the Navy, in the Army. When he was at Ostend early in the war he saw many mutilated Belgian women. He remembers, and he hates. And so when he saw a group of our pampered German prisoners walking along a country road singing and smoking, his spirit burned within him. He asked the soldier in charge of these Huns if any of them spoke English, and of one who could he inquired whether he remembered the *Lusitania*. The answer of the swine was to spit in his face. And promptly Charles Ridge knocked him down. The dirty Hun can do as he pleases; the honest Englishman who has fought and has been lamed fighting, is expected to turn the other cheek. Ridge would have been unworthy of his fine record, of his British manhood, if he had failed to reply to the insult. Thank God, he did not fail!

"So let us pay tribute to the manliness of Charles Ridge, and do so by remembering and hating. Nearly

four years of war with a bestial and despicable foe, and we do not yet hate him properly. I should like to see every man who hates Germany and the Germans—yes, and every woman, too, for the women are the best haters of the Hun—joined together in solemn league and covenant to keep this hate for the Hun alive so long as they have breath in their bodies and then to hand on the legacy of hate to their children. A League of Hate—that is what we want.

“In the face of infamies unmentionable, with the knowledge of foul murders by sea and land, in the face of accumulated evidence and piled-up horrors, there are those who to-morrow would make friends with the Hun and take his blood-stained hand in the grasp of amity. In the name of true patriotism, let us exalt the deed of Charles Ridge. Remember—and Hate!”

When Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated a full column leading editorial in a prominent London daily contained such sections as these:

“We hope his fate will be shared by the rest of the criminals who have lied, murdered, oppressed, and violated at the command of the German Emperor. There are in truth but two appropriate endings for these people. One is the assassin’s knife; the other the hangman’s rope. We should prefer, as a matter of taste, that justice in the case of these men should take an orderly and decent course; but the main thing is that justice should be done.

"We can readily imagine that these remarks will cause some pain in certain English circles, in which a Prussian aristocrat may still be regarded as 'almost an English boy.' We can quite understand the shock the Foreign Office mind experiences when approval is openly expressed of the removal of an Ambassador and a Count to boot.

"But English people, we believe, will feel no such emotion of outraged propriety. They will see in Mirbach's fate justice and nothing more.

"The only hopeful kind of peace is one of which the essential preliminary is the punishment of men like Mirbach, either by the rough justice of assassination or the more ordered operation of a revolutionary tribunal. And the German people, we think, should be told plainly what is expected of them if they are ever to regain their place in the company of civilized nations."

The following article from the London *Evening Standard* will speak for itself:

"It fills us with amazement to read that, after nearly four years of war with Germany, any body of British subjects should be ready to address to Germans such a communication as the appeal of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem to the Prussian Order of St. John.

"No doubt this thing has been done with the worthiest motives. It is an attempt to restore and maintain the 'highest standard of Christian generosity, charity, mercy, and honor' in the conduct of the war. But the princely and noble members of the Order of St. John

hardly seem to realize what is implied in this respectfully worded and even humble appeal to the 'Most Illustrious Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Honour, the other Members of the Johanniter Order.'

"Who are these Knights of Justice and Knights of Honour of the Prussian Order of St. John? They are members of the Prussian aristocracy. They are precisely the men who plotted this war, who prepared for it with an organized hypocrisy such as the world has never seen before, and who have carried it on with cool, deliberate, and appalling brutality. The Protector of the Prussian Order of St. John is the Kaiser himself; its Grand Master is a Prussian notable; its knights are the same kind of people who have bombed our towns, sunk our ships, murdered our women and children, ordered massacres, burnings and rapings in France, Belgium, Serbia, Poland and Rumania, made war on our wounded, starved our prisoners, and—to cut short the catalogue—been guilty of every kind of crime and meanness which the most perverted imagination can conceive and the bloodiest hand can carry out.

"These people are rightly looked on by the average Briton as criminals of the lowest type. Ordinary people, who have given their dearest for this crusade against Germany, regard these princely robbers and murderers as occupying precisely the same moral level as the late Charles Peace and Dr. Crippen. They regard them as more culpable than the brutal German private who kills

young girls and twirls babies on his bayonet. The private is no doubt a willing pupil in blackguardism, but he is only a pupil; the true inspiration in frightfulness comes from above.

"Yet these Prussian blackguards are addressed as if they were civilized gentlemen—the social and moral equals of our own Princes and Nobles. It is gently hinted that Germany may have been led into some small errors of taste in her waging of war. 'Certain belligerent acts,' say the petitioners—for they occupy that position—'appear to us to be opposed to the declarations, maxims, and professions of our ancient and illustrious Order of Christian Chivalry.' The British members 'beg' the 'noble' German members to exercise their influence with 'His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor,' and they 'regret' to record their opinion that the Imperial Government has 'not always acted up to the ideals and laws of our Christian brotherhood.' But they 'appeal with confidence' to the 'eminent members' in Germany to unite in upholding the ideals of the Order.

"How, in the name of common sense, can we expect the German people to repudiate, as beyond the pale of decency, their rulers, when our own Notables treat them as if they were men of honor?"

It is a deplorable state into which the world has drifted. To move in such an atmosphere is decidedly depressing and it is gradually robbing the people of their finer sensibilities. Profanity springs more easily to their lips when venom rankles in the breast. We

should pray to be delivered from it, even though in the present crisis, in view of the unspeakable barbarities committed by the enemy, it is perhaps as justifiable as such sentiments can ever be.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITIES OF HORRIBLE NIGHTS

"This war would be a jolly show if there were no nights," said an officer on the Western front; and the people back at home might have said, "And we could keep our spirits up much better if it were always daytime." Nearly all the cities of Europe during the war were cities of horrible nights. There were no lights, the streets were enveloped in dismal darkness, through the gloom taxicabs dashed here and there, the throngs moved along like specters through a mist, and the courtesans flocked out by thousands to follow their uninterrupted solicitations. At nightfall every window and door must be closed and every curtain drawn, for severe penalties were visited on those who allowed beams of light to escape from store or apartment. In the theaters and cafés there were scenes of riotous jollity and brilliancy, but on the streets all was darkness and gloom. The situation "got on my nerves," for the facts and the agencies of darkness so constantly confronted became decidedly depressing.

But the real horror of the nights was constituted by what did and what might happen while they spread blackness over the world. Then villainy of the most

unspeakable kind was enacted, then men and women sacrificed their honor, their souls, their homes—and the happy homes of other people also—then the soldiers from overseas were set upon by harpies and tricksters, and then the enemy avions came to spread death among helpless women and little children. The most terrible experiences of the war, at home and on the fronts, in its actual effects, occurred at night.

I have been in the center of more than forty air raids, and this number does not include hundreds of air battles which have taken place above my head on the front or the large number which I have witnessed from a distance, and of them all only two occurred in the light of day. The first one I ever experienced was in London at nine o'clock in the morning, and this was the largest day-time raid which ever reached the English capital; the last raid I ever saw in London began at eleven o'clock in the night and passed at three o'clock in the morning, and this was the worst raid ever experienced by any city, either in the day or night.

When the Boche raiders came to London that July morning I had taken a taxicab and was being driven to the Liverpool Street station. The taxicab was directly in front of the great General Post Office, and suddenly there was a crashing roar more thunderous than anything I had ever heard before. The machine careened and plunged about in the street until it brought up on its side against a nearby pole, the earth trembled as if in the grasp of a mighty earthquake, and the air was suddenly full of flying débris—stone, wood, and glass.

I pulled myself together and glanced through the door of the taxicab and understood that the General Post Office had been struck by a bomb dropped from an enemy aircraft. I crawled out of the damaged automobile and, looking into the sky, witnessed the greatest spectacle of its kind ever enacted since the world began—one which a few months before belonged wholly in the realm of dreams; it was the world's greatest battle in the sky.

I saw a flotilla of great enemy airships advance over the unprotected city in battle formation, spread out like a mighty fan, or a flock of geese flying south in the fall, led by the conspicuous machine of the commander, with the bomb carriers protected in the center of the V. They were flying very low and their speed seemed leisurely enough, although they must have been moving at the speed of at least seventy-five miles an hour. Their lines were straight and it was apparent that they were under a strict discipline, evidently in anticipation of an attack from the British machines. The whirr of the engines could be distinctly heard; occasionally the sharp, clear rattle of a machine gun would pierce the morning air, then the deep boom of an anti-aircraft defense gun from the street, and a crashing roar of a bursting bomb dropped by the Hun. It was so sudden, so startling, so magnificent, that I stood riveted to the spot and scarcely comprehended what was taking place above and around me.

Now the British planes ascended. They circled and swept gracefully until they had attained the proper alti-

tude, and then without the slightest hesitancy drove full at the foe. So fierce was the onslaught that they broke his formation, and then the multitude of great battleships of the air mingled in an indiscriminate mass. Friend could not be distinguished from foe as they battled in the clouds above my head. It would be vain to attempt an adequate description of this struggle, or to enable the average person to understand its grandeur or the awe with which a witness beheld it. They circled and dashed here and there madly, they maneuvered for position, they struggled with deadly fury. It was a floating and whirling mass of demons fighting furiously in the sky. Twice I saw machines swerve to one side from the group, reel unsteadily in the air for a moment, and then plunge downward, turning over and over as the pilots endeavored to regain control. And all the while the engines whirled, the machine guns rattled, the defense guns roared, and the bombs came streaking through the air to fall upon the heads of the helpless women and children on the streets and to burst with a thunderous crash, spreading death and destruction everywhere.

I was stunned by sentiments of wonder, pity, hatred, and fear; I did not know how to move or where. Slowly I made my way through the crowd surrounding a wrecked building; the devastation was terrible, fire was spreading, the dead were being removed, and the wounded were crying for help. Over in Piccadilly the street was littered with broken glass and bits of stone, scattered by the falling shrapnel. Near the gate of St.

Paul's lay ■ great unexploded bomb, closely guarded by the police until soldiers should come and remove it. I came to a little church which had been utterly destroyed; a young girl had been arranging flowers on the altar for the service on the following day when the deadly missile came crashing through the roof—and there lay her mangled body in the wreckage of the sacred altar she loved. Here was a row of flats housing many families, three stories high; a bomb had struck near the corner on the roof and had eaten its way to the ground, leaving a gaping wound through which one could see the interior of each apartment. Down in the east end the havoc was frightful; the east always suffered from the raids, because the foe followed the course of the Thames in approaching London and naturally aimed at the docks and the Tower and Bridge, which presented a visible target to the raiders; this is why the poor people who inhabit this end of the city suffered so intensely from these attacks. In front of the Tower gate was a gaping hole in the stone street deep enough to bury a piano, some of the great iron pickets in the fence had been cut in two by the flying shrapnel, all of the windows in many blocks were broken, and here and there the little pools of blood upon the pavement told a sadder story. Some school children had been passing that way—if the enemy had known of it he would doubtless have rubbed his hands in glee, for his record shows that he has a special predilection for children!

When the papers reached the streets they carried many columns about the great air-raid, but the censor

had been busy. No definite place could be mentioned in the stories lest the papers fall into the hands of the enemy and enable him to tell what section of London he was over, "A great public building had been wrecked"—but they dare not say it was the General Post Office. "A bomb fell in the yard of a prominent church," but the name of the cathedral was carefully shielded. The power of the censor was strikingly seen when I read these accounts after witnessing the actual battle and personally visiting the destroyed sections. No pictures must be made until the official photographer sees fit to make them! Standing near me on East Commercial street was a man with a large and fancifully carved cigarette holder, and when he fingered it loosely he was at once in the toils of the police; "'Ow do I know but it's a thing to tike pictures with as you've got?" was the explanation which was given for its confiscation. And the official reports issued by the war office! They destroyed in me all confidence in official reports thereafter. It was announced that there were twenty-two enemy machines, and on the same page of a paper which published the report was a remarkable photograph made from the roof of a building showing more than sixty! The officials reported that the British had sustained no injury whatever, and that evening in a hotel I met one of the aviators engaged who was weeping his heart out because the machine driven by his dearest friend had been brought down by shrapnel from a defense gun shell and both occupants instantly killed. It was the usual thing after the raid, and after

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every raid, to hear people everywhere making prophecies concerning the forthcoming official report and its attempt to underestimate the damage done. But all of this was taken good-naturedly by the populace, since the people appreciated the necessity of preserving morale and courage and keeping all gratifying information from the enemy.

The greatest raid of all occurred on the night of Whit Sunday, the anniversary of Pentecost; at the close of the day when all England celebrated the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles came the air Huns to send death down upon sleeping people; it was a Pentecost of frightfulness for suffering London. I had just retired and extinguished my light when the alarm came, given by bursting "maroons," and a friend entered to invite me out into the hall, where a little group had already assembled; his invitation was accepted, because the large windows in each of the rooms of my suite constituted a very great menace. We sat upon the steps for more than three hours during the world's greatest air attack.

Twenty minutes after the first alarm a deep booming in the distance proved that the enemy had broken through the coast barrage and was proceeding to London, and for a few minutes we could mark his progress by the advancing roar. Then there was a sudden thundering near at hand as the guns of London came into action and began throwing a curtain of fire in the path of the Gotha fleet. No one of our party spoke, for all were enthralled with interest as we listened to the great

batteries striving so hotly for our protection. Now there came a crash so thunderous that all the others were surpassed in volume, the building trembled from the force of the concussion, the windows began the rattle that scarcely ceased until the raiders had gone, one of the women gave a frightened little scream and stopped her ears with her hands—the foe was upon us and his first torpedo had scored a direct hit.

Now the streets were silent but the skies were full of din. Taxicabs no longer went honking about, motor busses had ceased their rumbling, and the crowds did not create their customary hubbub, for the avenues were deserted. But above our heads we could hear the intermittent whirring of the peculiar German engine, the sharp, clear rattle of machine guns, and the sullen bursting of British shells; while ever and anon the very earth would stagger as a missile well placed wrought its havoc.

Twice I went to the door and surveyed the scene above. It was wonderful! A score of mighty searchlights were stabbing the darkness and sweeping the heavens while the lovely star-shells hanging here and there illuminated the skies. There were just enough clouds to make a background for the bursting shells, and against them the lurid and devilish flashes were constantly playing. Here and there one caught momentary glimpses of an enemy air craft, as it emerged from or disappeared behind a cloud, or as it was caught in the sweep of a searchlight. Once three great rays focussed on one of the machines, and its maneuvers were remarkable; it dashed upwards and then turned downward, it

swept from side to side, it plunged and careened in desperate attempts to escape the revealing light, and all the while hundreds of shells were screaming towards it. I saw the plane reel unsteadily in the air for a moment and then dip downward suddenly, flames shot up and enveloped it, the pilot leaped away into the air, to fall two miles and strike upon the London pavement, while the burning battleship of the sky came down a ruined mass. It was a remarkable scene, but I was haunted for weeks by the memory of that man leaping free from his machine.

This continued for more than three hours, as we sat on the steps and waited until the trumpets of the Boy Scouts sounded "All Clear." There was no use in seeking a better refuge; the best protection was always to remain at home and be quiet, for any good wall would resist shrapnel bits and none of them could protect their occupants in the event of a direct hit. The tubes were safe enough if one dared to go through the streets to reach them, but comparatively few people sought their shelter. It fell to my lot to carry into the subway during one raid a lady who fainted before my door, and then I understood the prejudice against the places which kept the "better element" away. It was filled with a motley crowd of Jews and foreigners, although it was in the west end of London. Children lay about the floor on dirty and tattered blankets, filthy and disreputable-looking specimens of humanity thronged the place, and the odor was intolerable. Most people preferred the bombs of the Boche to the germs of the under-

ground. This situation in the tubes was immortalized by a popular painting in which the artist depicted the crowds in the Elephant and Castle station during an air-raid in a most realistic manner.

As we sat upon the steps no fear was visible in our little company, even though one young lady was so nervous that she must needs rest her head on her protector's knee. There were wine and cigarettes in abundance and one friend produced some biscuits; one of the maids read her book and made scarcely a comment. The conversation dwelt on other things for the most part and concerned the air-raid only when a bomb fell unusually near or some one returned from the door with a new report. Nowhere in Europe, be it said, did I ever see any noticeable fear on the part of the people, save in one or two detached instances in which single individuals were concerned.

After the raid we went out to observe the effects. It seemed that half of London must have been razed by the terrible bombardment, yet it required diligent search to find any damage that had been done. A few poor houses destroyed, several women and children killed—that was all. But one aerial torpedo wrought an unbelievable havoc. It fell in Maida Vale and scored a direct hit on a block of stone mansions, three or four stories in height. Five of these were leveled as completely as if house wreckers had been at work, the top stories of three houses across the street were knocked down and these houses were set on fire, and all the buildings in the block, on both sides of the street, about

fifty of them, were so injured as to be rendered uninhabitable. The residents were evacuated, the block was boarded in and placed under guard, and there it remains until this day. Such was the force of one torpedo.

I had often wondered how the people acted and felt during an air-raid. They were perfectly helpless, of course, and there was little to be done save to seek shelter in the most secure spot. Hundreds of them came flocking out to observe, and while bombs rained down the people gazed curiously and the school children, if the raid was in day time, stood at "attention" and sang "Rule Britannia." I saw little terror on the streets during any raid and heard little comment to indicate that such warfare spread any noticeable degree of panic among the people. Mainly the people kept inside and trusted to Providence; the curious flocked to the street to observe "the show." Perhaps the greatest danger is not from the descending bombs of the foe; rather is it from the flying shrapnel of the friend. Each shell sent against the enemy must come down somewhere, and the falling pieces of steel destroy windows and injure people over a wide area.

The wonderfully preserved morale of the people indicated to me the fact that Germany was defeating her own purpose by such barbarous methods of murdering the helpless non-combatants in undefended cities. (But of course Germany does not regard London as undefended, since she excused herself for these attacks by issuing a manifesto declaring that London was no longer unfortified, since she had mounted anti-aircraft defense

guns!) Her purpose was the same as that back of the unspeakable ruthlessness which she has practiced and encouraged in Belgium, France, Poland, Serbia, Rumania, Armenia, and everywhere else she has planted her hoof—to terrorize the people and break their spirits to such a degree that they will demand peace. But the actual result was to anger the people and make them more determined in their conviction that such a foe must be completely crushed. Hence nothing that Germany could have done would have had such a tendency to unify the sentiment of the nation. Ruthlessness running amuck enabled Great Britain to raise by the volunteer system a mighty army, and it steadily and surely defeated its own aim.

The air-raids always gave a new impetus to the popular movement for reprisals, until they were undertaken. The king came out upon the street to view the devastation of one raid, and as he stood gazing upon a wrecked building he remarked, "I wish that those who oppose reprisals could witness this scene." The king favored a reprisal policy, but of course the will of his majesty has not the least influence in the conduct of affairs in Great Britain! England for a long time held herself aloof from such methods, under the pressure of a sentiment molded and led by such men as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Sanday of Oxford. The argument was that the English skirts were clear and must be kept so, and the fact that Germany so far forgot herself as to violate international precedent and outrage righteous conceptions by slaughtering the innocents would not

justify England in adopting the same tactics. This was a noble stand to be taken by a nation which went to war in defense of a weaker power and a solemn treaty, and if it had been maintained until the end of the war it would have cleared the English name of many a blot which her past actions have placed upon it.

In the matter of air raids the cities of France naturally suffered more than the cities of England; I was in Paris when the avions came over eleven successive nights, while at the same time the "gros Bertha" was bombarding the beautiful capital of the French and the deep imprecations of the guns thundering at the gates could be heard constantly. Everywhere in Paris and in other French towns there were signs pointing to the nearby "Abris contre bombardment," and these "caves" were designated by posters stating the number of persons who could take refuge there in the event of an attack. The barrage north of Paris and around the city was quite efficient, but anti-aircraft guns were always surprisingly helpless in beating off an attack or keeping the foe behind his own lines. I have seen flotillas of German airships sail calmly on through a stream of shells sweeping their path so thoroughly that the explosions left patches of smoke forming practically solid lines across the sky, and it was not at all unusual to see the airmen go above a barrage, sailing so high that they absolutely disappeared in the blue heavens.

On one occasion I went into Paris for the express purpose of associating with the people in an hour of supreme crisis. The city was being bombarded during

the day and raided at night; there was a sinister story in the laconic communiqués of the war office: "The long-range gun resumed the bombardment of the Paris district this morning," and "a fleet of enemy aircraft crossed our lines last night going in the direction of Paris at 11 P. M.; the 'all clear' was given at 1 A. M." On the very first night of this visit the unearthly shriek of the siren sounded on schedule time, and as its shrill voice died away there was silence. One could hear no excited voices and no sound of frightened feet scurrying to shelter. A group gathered in the tea room of the hotel, away from the windows, and awaited the visitors. They arrived in due time, accompanied by the rumble of the guns and the general din of battle, and remained as unwelcome guests for nearly an hour. While this raid, which did not materially differ from all others of its kind, was in progress there was a smaller degree of excitement in this group and among the general population than was usually observed in London on similar occasions. But the tension among our company in the hotel was relieved by a belated discovery which caused great amusement: we found that in our eagerness to avoid windows and places of undue hazard we had taken refuge in a tea room built in the court of the hotel, and the only barrier between us and the bombs of the Hun had been the art glass roof above our heads!

More terrible were the afflictions which the Boche visited upon the cities near the fronts; and more demoralizing to the nerves of the people in such places were their experiences. I was in Toul one night when

there were six air-raids, and there for the first and only time I suffered from excessive fear. Time and again during the night we heard the siren warn the people and there was little respite from danger, while there were some unusual features which made the raid seem more terrible here than elsewhere. The city was much smaller than Paris and the guns and enemy planes could be heard more distinctly, so that one was prone to believe the enemy was hovering immediately over his head and taking accurate aim at the cot on which he happened to be lying. Still worse were the cathedral bells, for in Toul the bells began ringing when the enemy reached the city and continued until he was well on his way back to his own lines. And then there were the automatic rifles. In bombarding a small city the aviators must of necessity fly much lower than in the case of London or Paris, and in so doing they came oftentimes in range of the automatics; and these guns were very effective in keeping the enemy high. The rattling of these weapons was unusually terrifying, for they made a noise for all the world like the creaking of a great tree in the agony of falling. When I heard them in Toul my first thought was that the cathedral had been bombed and one of the towers or walls was beginning to fall, but since the unearthly noise continued my conclusion had to be revised.

By all means the most terrifying of all my experiences were these air-raids in Toul. The sirens, the bells, the defense barrage, the automatics, the bombs, the engines, the crashes of splintered houses—all of these things so

heightened the sense of danger that terror was struck into my soul for the first time. I lay on my cot trembling like an aspen leaf and covered with the perspiration of fear. But the people did not seem to share my apprehension, for no more anxiety was observed in Toul than in other and larger cities which were subjected to similar torments. On one occasion I was dining in a company when the siren sounded; not one of the diners gave the slightest heed, the topic under consideration was not changed, no mention was made of the alarm, and there was not even a pause in the conversation. Thus calmly did the people regard the terror that flieth by night.

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